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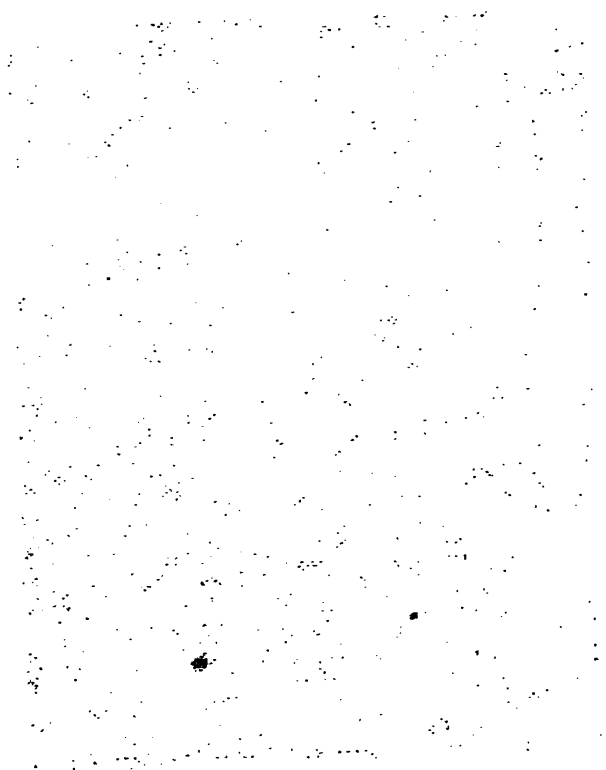


Ashbel Green

THE LIFE

[.]

NEW YORK:
ROBERT CARTER AND BROTHERS
No. 285 BROADWAY.
1849.



Ashtel Green

THE LIFE
OF
ASHBEL GREEN, V.D.M.

BEGUN TO BE WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN HIS EIGHTY-SECOND YEAR
AND CONTINUED TO HIS EIGHTY-FOURTH.

PREPARED FOR THE PRESS AT THE AUTHOR'S REQUEST

BY JOSEPH H. JONES,

PASTOR OF THE SIXTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

UNIVERSITY
OF VIRGINIA

NEW YORK:
ROBERT CARTER AND BROTHERS
No. 285 BROADWAY.
1849.

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ERRATA.

Page 28, ninth line from the bottom, for "1776," read "1774."
Page 48, for "from the year 1782 to 1788," read "From the year 1778 to 1782."
Page 100, ninth line from the top; for "laid," read "lay."
Page 152, ninth line from the top, for "Lawrence," read "Lawrenceville."
Page 154, seventeenth line from the top, for "seventy-nine," read "twenty-nine."
Page 201, seventeenth line from the bottom, for "are," read "are."
Page 314, ninth line from the top, for "popular," read "populous."
Page 321, fourteenth line from the bottom, for "Judicatures," read "Judicatories."
Page 351, fifth line from the bottom, for "Hayward," read "Hazard."
Page 424, third line from the bottom, for "comparing," read "composing."
Page 500, eighth line from the bottom, for "88th," read "86th."
Page 611, fourteenth line from the bottom, for "we" read "he."
Page 612, twenty-first line from the bottom, for "appreciate" read "associate."

PREFACE.

A BIOGRAPHY of Dr. Green, which would fully exhibit his character and usefulness in the American Presbyterian Church, must comprehend the greater part of her annals. Such a work as this, however important and desirable, the writer has neither the time nor capacity to undertake. The manuscript containing his own account of himself, was committed to us for publication by the author's written request, found among his papers after his decease. Such a token of affection and confidence, seemed to impose a filial obligation not to decline a service which, we are fully sensible, belongs legitimately to a more competent pen. The plan at first proposed, was to prepare a somewhat extended memoir, using the posthumous papers only as furnishing facts to be written and arranged by ourselves. But the instructions which accompany the manuscript have satisfied the surviving relatives, that they preclude the exercise of much discretionary power in preparing it for the press. To them it appears beyond a doubt, to have been the wish of the writer that his autobiography should be published substantially as it was left, without modification or abridgment. Whether the work thus issued will be more useful, or better fulfil the public expectation, than if contracted in some of its details, and enlarged by materials that are abundant and accessible, is not regarded by them an open question.

As we deemed it to be the dictate of both delicacy and duty, to submit the manuscript for revision to those who are presumed to have been best acquainted with the intention of the author, it is now presented to the public as it was returned to the editor from them. Although the reader will discover that in several parts

of the narrative the events are not recorded in exact chronological order, yet we have not presumed to displace them, nor make any other arrangement than that adopted by the writer. It is due, however, to those intelligent friends of the deceased, to whose opinions we have deferred, to say, that they are influenced not only by a desire to obey what they deem the injunction of their venerated relative, but by a confident persuasion that the memoir will make a better moral impression by exhibiting his character as it is reflected from the miscellaneous and motley pages of his own diary, than after any omissions which would wholly conceal its imperfections. The sketch of a friend and admirer might present a more attractive picture, but the difference would be like that between the product of a skilful artist and the original.

The trivial things which the fastidious reader would pass over as jejune and tedious, may be very significant as indicative of character; and if a man's record of his closet exercises exhibits one of its features, his account of a "lost cow, or the purchase of oysters and cantelopes," may bring to view another.*

That so large a space should be occupied by reminiscences relating to the absorbing topics of the times, during his youth and early manhood, will surprise no one who has just conceptions of their religious, as well as political importance. For awhile, himself a soldier, participating in the anxieties and perils of the struggle, and then in the joys of its issue: acquainted with many of the leading actors in it, and a personal friend of some of the most illustrious, it was scarcely possible that in writing the memoirs of himself, he could separate his own history from those great national events with which both he and they had been so closely conversant. The times and scenes, moreover, to which they relate, will be reviewed with increasing interest, the farther they recede; while there is so much of the narrator's personal character mingled with his subjects, as they are handled in his familiar epistolary manner,

* Page 399.

that they will be found less digressive and episodic than many would anticipate. But in giving this work of Dr. Green to the public so little abridged, it is not presumed that its details of social visits, calls of friends, and occurrences of only personal and ephemeral importance will be read with equal interest by every one, or read at all by some. But in those parts that will least engage the attention of the general reader, there will be found the names of many both living and dead, and the mention of here and there occurrences, which, though of little intrinsic value, will suggest to many readers affecting and useful reminiscences. Even the dry record of a monotonous routine of college labours, uninteresting as it will probably be to most, will be read by many an alumnus with delight. He will not be more surprised than gratified to discover some trifling incident in his academical life, so gravely chronicled with his name, and which may cause perhaps a tear of contrition over the follies that gave his venerable teacher so much poignant distress. With respect to the somewhat prolix and circumstantial account of the scenes of turbulence and disorder in the College, the editor feels it due to himself to state, that they did not appear to him of so much general importance to the public, nor so closely blended with the life of Dr. Green, as to be worthy of occupying the room they take in the journal. But from certain marginal notes indicative of his wishes on the subject, it was obviously his desire, that if his life were published, it should contain all on this subject which he had transcribed from his private memoranda. He was fully aware of the various reports, misrepresentations, and inferences injurious to himself, to which these riotous proceedings and the consequent action of the faculty, under his administration, had given occasion. With a view then, at once to disabuse the public mind of any remaining error, and vindicate the government of the College, he prepared the somewhat copious narrative, which, in our circumstances, we have not felt at liberty to withhold, or even abridge. Trivial, moreover, as are many of the items of his diur-

nal record, yet none can form an adequate conception of his industry and the amount of his labours, without such a report of them, much less of the trials of his temper, faith and patience.

It is unnecessary to add, that the important work of preparing the following memoir for the press, was not sought, nor was it undertaken without many serious misgivings, and an oppressive sense of responsibility. The circumstances that attended the request of Dr. Green, appeared to give it the imperative force of a claim. We have not indulged so much as the hope that our duty would be discharged to the satisfaction of all. We were so well aware of the diversity of sentiment in relation to his character and usefulness, especially in some of the most important doings of his life, that we have not presumed upon success in any endeavour to make the many discordant opinions harmonize with one another, nor with our own. The issuing of the work without alteration or notes, has somewhat lightened our toil, but the reader can easily imagine that the humble service that remained, has given us not a little solicitude as well as labour. We have been greatly aided by the cheerful and prompt co-operation of those who have sent us valuable papers in relation to their honoured friend, by which our pages will be greatly enriched.

May the grace of which he was so largely a partaker, be imparted to the readers of this memoir, and many be incited to higher attainments in piety by the influence of his Godly example.

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THE LIFE

OF THE

REV. ASHBEL GREEN, D.D. LL.D.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE YEAR 1762 TO 1778.

HACKNEYED as is the excuse for authorship, that it was undertaken on the advice of friends, it is nevertheless true, that my life would never have been written by myself, if those whose opinions I thought I ought to regard, had not urged me to it; nay, if they had not laid it upon me as a duty which I owed to them and to the Christian community. They remarked, that I had been active in the concerns of the church to which I belong, and had witnessed important occurrences both in the church and in the state, and that if a statement of these were connected, with a more particular account of my religious exercises than I had ever given, as far as they knew, they thought that the narration would be interesting, and very useful. The consideration of usefulness, I can truly say, prevailed with me to yield to the representation made; not indeed without considerable reluctance, both because the labour assumed would,

at my time of life, be onerous, and because it is difficult for a man to write his own life properly. It ought to avoid extreme minuteness on the one hand, and indiscriminating generality on the other; to be like the features of the face, indicative of a common nature, and yet characteristic of an individual; containing nothing that is false rather than all that is true: for there are some things that a prudent and conscientious man should not reveal to any mortal; and there are others, which a regard to the feelings of living individuals forbids to be published.

May a gracious God direct both my thoughts and my pen, that I say all that I ought, and nothing that would be better concealed!

My birth was on the sixth day of July, 1762, at Hanover, in the county of Morris, and state of New Jersey. My father was the Rev. Jacob Green, who was a native of the town of Malden, in the state of Massachusetts. He was a graduate of the College or University of Cambridge, near Boston, in New England; and was engaged by the celebrated evangelist, the Rev. George Whitefield, to be a teacher of his Orphan House Academy, in the state of Georgia. He accompanied Mr. Whitefield in his journey to the South as far as Elizabethtown in New Jersey. There Mr. Whitefield heard such discouraging accounts in regard to his Orphan House, that he told my father that he feared he should not be able to fulfil his engagements to him relative to salary; and he put it at the option of my father, either to take the risk of the success of the Orphan House enterprise, or to receive an indemnity for his expenses and losses till that time,

and to stop where he then was. After consulting with Mr. Dickenson and Mr. Burr, (both of whom were afterwards presidents of the College of New Jersey,) who strongly advised him to abandon his Georgia expedition, and to study divinity, and be licensed to preach the gospel, my father chose the latter alternative proposed by Mr. Whitefield; studied divinity under the direction of Mr. Burr; was soon called to settle in the Presbyterian congregation of Hanover; was the pastor of that congregation for forty-five years; and died and was buried there in the month of May, 1790.

My father was twice married; by his first wife he had three children, by his second six. My mother, my father's second wife, whose Christian name was Elizabeth, was the daughter of the Rev. John Pierson, for a long time the pastor of the congregation of Woodbridge in New Jersey, where, I believe, my mother was born. Mr. Pierson, my maternal grandfather, and whom I well remember, died at my father's house, in the eighty-first year of his age, in the month of August or September, in the year 1770. It is stated on his tombstone that he was a minister of the gospel fifty-seven years.

Both my parents were eminently pious; my mother always praying with the family, when my father was from home. In no other family have I ever known the Lord's day to be observed with equal strictness and solemnity, as in that, in which, under the paternal roof, it was my happy lot to pass a number of my juvenile years. My father, after preaching to the people of his pastoral charge twice on each Sabbath in the summer and once in winter, and after resting for a

short time, had his whole family collected together for instruction and devotion. It is at least seventy years ago, and yet in my mind's eye, I see him sitting in his arm chair, and without book, and commonly with his eyes shut, asking in regular order every question in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, helping or correcting those who could not repeat it perfectly; and sometimes making remarks on particular answers, or on the whole catechism after it had been repeated. When this part of the exercise was finished, the children of the family, of whom there were five or six, were questioned on five chapters previously prescribed, the questioner still neither using nor needing a book. To this succeeded an inquiry in regard to the text or texts he had preached on; and what we could recollect of the sermons we had heard. This was followed by asking the elder children what other books they had read besides the Bible, and by the repetition of short sentences of devotional poetry which any of us could remember. The whole was concluded sometimes with a short address from my father, and always by an impressive prayer. No secular business, nor conversation on secular subjects, was allowed in the family, except that which related to milking the cows, and relieving the necessities of the other brute animals, of which my father had a considerable number.

When I was tutor in college, at the time when Dr. Witherspoon was on his mission to Britain, to solicit benefactions for the College of which he was the president, the whole instruction of the college devolved upon Dr. Smith and myself. The doctor took the two higher classes of the college for private instruction in

religion on the Lord's day; and he requested me to take charge of the Sophomore and Freshman classes, and to give them such religious instruction as I should think most suitable; and I thought I could not do better than adopt that part of my father's plan, which consisted of prescribing five chapters in the Bible, to be examined on as a Sabbath day's exercise. The Rev. Robert Finley, who was afterwards settled at Baskenridge, was then a member of the Freshman class; and he was the first clergyman, except myself, that I ever heard of, as instituting a Bible class in his congregation. When I became the president of the College in 1812, all the students were formed into a Bible class, and I not long after heard of what I have stated in regard to Doctor Finley. Perhaps this valuable instruction of Bible classes may be traced into my father's family. Great good is often done beyond the views of those who give it origin.*

My early religious education preserved me, during the time I lived with my pious parents, from open and profligate vice, or, at least, from that which the world would so denominate. And yet I have to lament that I grieved them by some acts of disobedience, and by the youthful follies and irregularities in which I indulged. My native corruptions, I think, were peculiarly strong; and but for providential restraints, and a kind of constitutional timidity, might have carried me to any excess. I was not habitually profane in my conversation; and yet, among my companions, I did not always scruple an oath. But secret sins, known only to God and myself, are those which, on a review

* Appendix, A.

of my youthful days, I have cause chiefly to mourn, and most deeply to deplore.

The instruction which I received in preparing for the standing which I took at entering college, was chiefly derived from my father. It was not, however, his original intention to give me a liberal education. He had four sons; of whom the eldest and the youngest he intended for scholars; but the intermediate two, of whom I was one, were to be farmers or mechanics. Indeed, he had such an opinion of the importance of knowing how to manage a farm, that he engaged a pious and distinguished farmer of his congregation, to take charge of my elder brother and myself, and instruct us, by putting us to labour with the other individuals he employed, in all kinds of agricultural work. In consequence of this, I became acquainted with every species of farming business; from which, as it has turned out, I have derived very little other advantage, than being able, during the ten years I presided over the college at Princeton, to cultivate a large garden with skill and success. My father taught a number of pupils, of age sufficient to understand their own interest; for whose accommodation he erected a school house on the opposite side of the street to that on which his own dwelling stood. He took these pupils on the condition, that he should direct their studies, and in ordinary circumstances hear them recite once every day; but that he would have no inspection of them but at the times of recitation; and that he would discharge them, if they were idle, or failed to make progress, according to their capacities. As for myself, though not intending me for a professed scholar, he wished me to be acquainted with

the rules of grammar, and at a very early age—I think in my seventh year—made me learn a part of “Cheever’s Accidence,” and afterward, the Latin grammar of a Mr. Ross, a clergyman of New England. But from the time I was able to read, I showed a fondness for books, and as I grew older, determined, if possible, to obtain a college education. My father saw my inclination, and my mother favoured it. The result was, that though my father made no hesitation to take me off from my studies, whenever he needed my assistance, I still kept in the first class of his pupils; and afterwards, when in accordance with his advice, I taught first an English, and at length a grammar school, my leisure hours were devoted to my own improvement.

Among other vanities, I thirsted for the fame of a poet, and wasted a good deal of time in writing verses. My mother was a little proud of one of these compositions; but my father gave me the wise counsel to aim at a good prose style, and to let poetry alone. Yet on a certain occasion, when he was solicited to furnish an epitaph for a man of note, who died in his congregation, he gave me the thoughts he wished to be expressed, and told me to try my hand at putting them into verse. I did so; and he thought so well of my production, as to cause it to be engraved on the tomb-stone of the defunct, where I have recently seen it, when on a visit to the place of my nativity. In a few months after I had entered college, the rival societies commenced a paper war, and I wrote a song in ridicule of an individual, which I afterwards had great cause to regret; for a copy had been preserved among the students, and when the subject of ridicule became a tutor, he was

annoyed by hearing this song sung by the rogues of the college, whom he had offended; I was at the time a professor in the institution. I certainly have no just claim, and never had, to poetic talent; and though some of my doggerel verses have appeared in print, I sincerely hope, that not a line of them will ever be republished. My epitaph on the tomb-stone of my first wife, is among the best things in verse that I have ever written.*

I have mentioned above that my father took me off from my studies whenever he needed my assistance. He was a physician, as well as a clergyman; and besides going on his errands, he called on me to prepare medicines, sent me to let blood, to inoculate for the small-pox, and to extract teeth, so that I obtained the common appellation of doctor before I had ever seen a college. My smattering of medical knowledge has been useful to myself and to my family, and occasionally in my pastoral visitation. The late Dr. Rush sometimes sent a melancholic patient to me for advice, and he once became my patient himself, as I had before been one of his.

* Appendix, B.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE YEAR 1778 TO 1782.

MY narrative of the early part of my life, and of the family of which I was a member, has now reached a point, at which I may avail myself of what I have heretofore written; a circumstance which affords me a seasonable help. In the summer of 1840, while residing with my nephew, the Rev. Jacob Green, at Bedford, in the state of New York, I began to write my reminiscences in letters addressed to my youngest son. They were continued at intervals, till the autumn of 1842; and they mingle my biography from my seventeenth to my twenty-fifth year, with an account of the condition of our country previously to our revolutionary war, and a statement of public affairs, both political and religious, till the happy termination of that war, and for a considerable period afterwards. The letters to my son were published without my name; but they were of such a character as, in a short time, to reveal the author; nor was I solicitous for concealment. The publication of these reminiscences was made in a daily newspaper in Philadelphia. I now introduce them, with some additional information, in notes, and with a few curtailments.

B——, JUNE 12th, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—As the garrulity of age is proverbial, and you have often importuned me to write my remi-

niscences, perhaps it is more surprising that I have forborne to do it hitherto, than that, in the closing month of my seventy-eighth year, I have determined to comply with your request.

Old men, you are aware, remember the occurrences of their early years, with greater accuracy than those which happen when they have reached a more advanced age. But as I have kept a diary for the last half century, I think I am pretty well furnished with materials for my undertaking, in which I mean to take notice of the state of society at the commencement and during the progress of the American Revolution, as well as of many events that have since transpired. As I had, moreover, the privilege of knowing personally some fifteen or sixteen of the signers of the declaration of our national independence, and can boast of having had a degree of intimacy with some of them, I shall have it in my power to bring into view a number of things, which do not find a place in a formal or professed history of our country.

It is my wish, in every thing I write, to keep in mind my clerical character. I shall, therefore, not overlook the state of religion, during the period to which my memory extends. In doing this, however, you need not fear that I shall write either homilies or polemical discussions; but I shall not withhold the statement of facts, and some brief and cursory remarks of a religious character.

It is not my intention to say more of myself than shall seem necessary to the accomplishment of my general purpose; but all that may, in my judgment, contribute to that end, I shall speak of as freely as on

any other topic. You perceive that I have already begun to egotize; nor do I see how this could be avoided, without the use of a clumsy periphrasis, more objectionable, in epistolary writing, than egotism in extreme.

Your descent, my son, is, on my side of the house, from the Puritans of Old and New England; and on your mother's side, it is from the Scotch Covenanters, and their descendants in Ireland, and in the United States. The infidel and tory historian Hume, admits that English liberty is indebted for its preservation chiefly to the Puritans; and notwithstanding the ludicrous attitude in which Sir Walter Scott has seen meet to portray some of the Covenanters, their unyielding attachment both to civil and religious liberty, was undeniably of the most noble and heroic kind. You have, therefore, as I think, no cause to be ashamed of your ancestry; but I should not have mentioned this, if our whole country were not, in my apprehension, indebted to the two races of men I have named for the free institutions which we now so richly enjoy. Whence originated the spirit which begun our conflict with the mother country, produced the declaration of our national independence, and bore us triumphantly through the war of the Revolution? I well remember that the tories of that day, both in Britain and in our own country, attributed it—and they justly attributed it—to the leaders of the Yankees in New England, and to those of the Scotch and Irish inhabitants of the middle and southern provinces. They erred egregiously in one thing; that is, in saying or believing that the rebel leaders (such was their language,) aimed at independence *from the first*. None of those leaders, I am con-

fidant, thought of independence; but most earnestly wished for reconciliation with the parent State, till blood was shed at Lexington and Bunker Hill; nor by many, till a good while after those events. I am not sure whether it was by a communication from Mr. Samuel Adams himself, with whom I breakfasted in Boston in 1791, or from credible testimony otherwise obtained, I was informed that he was of the opinion, some time before he could get others to think with him, that we ought to have done with petitioning and remonstrating with Britain, and at once to set up for ourselves. Yet this, I believe, was not till after the conflicts I have just mentioned.

I freely and fully admit, that there were illustrious individuals descended from the English cavaliers, or from their favourers, who were as early awake as perhaps any others, to the importance of maintaining and contending for our colonial rights. The father of his country, the immortal Washington, belonged to this class. But it was otherwise with the mass of this population. Mr. Jefferson, in memoirs written by himself, and published since his death, gives a particular account of a device adopted by himself and some other members of the Legislature of Virginia, in 1776, to rouse their constituents from their apathy. He says, "We were under conviction of the necessity of arousing our people from the lethargy into which they had fallen, as to passing events; and thought that the appointment of a day of general fasting and prayer would be most likely to call up and alarm their attention. * * * With the help, therefore, of Rushworth, whom we rummaged over for the revolutionary precedents and

forms of the Puritans of that day, preserved by him, we cooked up a resolution,* somewhat modernizing their phrases, for appointing the first day of June, on which the Port Bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of the king and parliament to moderation and justice.†

* * * We returned home, and in our several counties invited the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the first of June, to perform the ceremonies of the day, and to address to them discourses suited to the occasion. The people met generally, with anxiety and alarm in their countenances; and the effect of the day through the whole country was like a shock of electricity, arousing every man, and placing him erect and solidly on his centre. They chose universally delegates to the convention." On the whole, I think it unquestionable, that the spirit which produced the American revolution had its origin and its fostering principally among those who were denominated *dissenters*; and all were then so denominated who did not belong to the established church of England. I remark, in passing, that since the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitutions of the individual States severally, have placed all religious denominations on the ground of equal rights and claims, the gross absur-

* Infidel politicians often sneer at those ordinances of religion which pressing emergencies compel them to call to their aid. Observe how resort was had to the Puritans.

† Thus it appears that the man who drafted the Declaration of Independence, did not, as yet, think of that measure.

dity of the members of any one church applying to all who differ from that church in doctrines and forms, the appellation of dissenters, seems to be glaring; and yet there are some who do not see this, but continue to call all those who do not belong to their own communion by the old opprobrious name of dissenters.

Affectionately, adieu.

B——, JUNE 19th, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—I have always been impatient, not to say vexed, when I have heard our national revolution and that of France, represented as similar. It is doubtless true, that our revolution had an influence, and a powerful one, in producing that of France. But the agencies, and what may be called the materials, of those two revolutions, were as different as can well be imagined. The leaders in our revolution were good men, as well as great men. If there were a few infidels among them, as no doubt was the fact, they were obliged to conceal their infidelity, because it was unpopular. Our people, speaking comparatively, were an intelligent, moral and religious people. They had been brought up under free institutions, and had the habits and ideas which are produced by such institutions. My quotation also from Mr. Jefferson, shows, that in Virginia, a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, was acceptable to the people at large, and highly influential. This was still more, far more the case with the population of the eastern and middle provinces. In the most of these provinces, days of fasting and prayer were no novelty—they had been of frequent occurrence. The influence of the clergy, moreover, both in and out of

the pulpit, was great and commanding; and it was all exerted against the unrighteous claims of Britain. It is also well known, that the old Continental Congress recommended days of religious observance, both for fasting and prayer, and for thanksgiving. Our army, too, had chaplains, to whom the commander-in-chief gave every facility which military operations would permit, for performing the duties of their sacred office. After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, there was a special religious service, for thanksgiving to Almighty God for the success he had granted to the united arms of America and France. On that occasion, General Washington directed that the whole army not on special military service, should attend; and he exhorted them, in general orders, to give their attendance with all the seriousness and devout feelings suited to the solemnity. Of all this, there not only was nothing, in the origin and progress of the French revolution, but something infinitely worse than nothing; that is, there was the absence of all good and the presence of much evil. An irruption took place of the most ferocious and infernal passions that human nature has ever exhibited. The leaders of this revolution, with no exception known to me, were destitute of every thing like religion, or genuine morality. They talked, indeed, of morality, but they openly professed to abhor religion; unless, after the extermination of every semblance of Christianity, the worship of a harlot, in the guise of the goddess of reason, might be called their religion. Many of the leaders, as every body knows, were avowed atheists. Mr. William Bradford, the successor of Randolph, as Attorney General of the United

States, and who died in 1795, told me, that Mr. Jefferson said in his hearing, that before he left France, atheism was table-talk with the bishops; and this was a considerable time before the evil reached its height: The populace of France, before the revolution, had been greatly oppressed by their superiors, both civil and ecclesiastical; and had grown up in servility, and the most brutish ignorance. Hence, when their former restraints were removed, and their passions became excited, they raged like infuriated demons. Every enormity of revenge, cruelty, murder, and savage barbarity, reigned in triumph. These enormities are of too recent a date to be unknown to the present generation. They have filled volumes; and I only advert to them generally, to show that those who proclaim a similarity between our revolution and that of France, are justly chargeable with an intolerable misrepresentation and absurdity. As to chaplains in the French armies, he who should have mentioned it, would first have been laughed to scorn, and then condemned to the guillotine. Their priests were sacrificed by hecatombs.

The mild treatment of the tories—that is, of those American citizens who in the early stages of our revolution sided with the British—was highly honourable to the American character, and a perfect contrast to what took place in France. Except in a few instances in the southern part of our country, where the tories had some of their own cruelties retaliated on them, ours was a bloodless revolution, so far as they were concerned; that is, till they actually appeared in arms as allies of our foreign foe. If they were disposed, as a number

were, to go peaceably to the British stations, they were permitted to do so, without molestation. This, at least, was the fact, in the whole region of my early knowledge. Their estates were forfeited, and there the matter ended with them. In regard to those who remained, and continued to talk against the country and in favour of the British, confinement, as in the case of Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, or a coat of tar and feathers, was the extent of their punishment; and even this penalty might be escaped, if, through fear or prudence, they promised, and kept their promise to preserve silence on the obnoxious points, in time to come. With a case confirmatory of my last position, and which will also show the state of the public mind at the period in contemplation, I will close my present letter.

My father, although a clergyman, was a whig of the first water; and within a mile of his residence, lived an English emigrant, a man of considerable property, and not a little hauteur, who had drunk as deeply into toryism as my father had into whigism. They had engaged in many an ardent controversy, some of which I heard; and the rest I shall give as probable, being the standing argumentation of the contending parties of that day. The tory strenuously maintained the right of the British king and parliament to tax us, with or without our consent; because, as he said, we were colonies that they had nursed up from infancy, defending us against the French and Indians, our mortal enemies, and expending in this defence, I know not how many millions of money, and thousands of lives: and as to our resisting the British arms, with any hopes of success, it was, he affirmed, the madness of folly to

think of it. Britain had triumphed over France and Spain in the last war, and would, if we provoked her, crush with the greatest ease our feeble hostility. My father denied the justice of this reasoning altogether. He maintained that our progenitors had, for the most part, fled from persecution at home, to a howling wilderness; that they had for a long time fought the Indians, and suffered from their barbarity, without aid; that when the French joined them, the parent State helped us more from a regard to their own power and reputation, than from any great love to us. Besides, he maintained that we had helped them as much as they had helped us, had given them the whole of our trade, and had borne a full share of the expense of the common cause. He insisted with great energy on one point, namely, that it was a British maxim, that representation and taxation ought always to go together; and that as we had no representation in the British parliament, it was, on their own principles, unjust and iniquitous to attempt to tax us without our consent. As to being crushed by the British arms, he expressed it as his conviction, that the whole power of Britain could not conquer the single province of Massachusetts Bay. This I heard him say; and only remark upon it, that Massachusetts was the province of his nativity and education. Before long, this Englishman became so publicly audacious, that some young and ardent whigs, in a neighbouring town, were reported to have declared that they would tar and feather him. This report came to his ears on a Saturday evening, and it frightened him half out of his life. He came to my father on the following Sabbath morning, in the greatest

trepidation imaginable. He acknowledged that he had done wrong in speaking against the American cause, said he was sorry for his imprudence and violence, and was willing to promise, most explicitly and solemnly, that if he might be forgiven, and be permitted to live in peace and safety, he would be silent on the American controversy in future; and would, in all respects, deport himself inoffensively. Such was the substance of his communication, for I pretend not to give his words. He entreated my father to write down this humiliating statement, and read it publicly from the pulpit that morning; and he promised to attend, and stand up in the face of the congregation, and own the whole as his own voluntary act and deed. My father, I believe, had not heard a word about the tarring and feathering of his alarmed visitant, till he heard it from himself; and was rather disposed to dissuade him from a public confession, although he had witnessed his imprudence, and did not know but he might be in danger of what he so greatly feared. As the tory insisted on making a public confession and retraction, my father told him to write it. This he was not well able to do, and urged my father to write it for him; which was accordingly done, in strict conformity with his dictation. Agreeably to his promise, he appeared in the church, and rose up in his pew before the congregation, when my father began to read his paper, and at the close of the reading, he assented distinctly to its contents, as containing his voluntary confession and promise. I was present, and saw and heard what I now write. But the matter did not end here. The alarmed and anxious tory took the paper which my father had read, and

hurried to the town from which the threatening had come, that he might have done there, in the afternoon service, what had already been done in the morning, in the place of his residence. But the minister of the town assured him, that what he had heard had been greatly magnified, and that nothing had taken place in that town to render necessary any such public transaction as he had solicited, and he refused to read the paper. Whether what was done in my father's church really saved him from tar and feathers, or whether his own fears had precipitated him into an unnecessary act, I know not. But I know that he lived many years on his farm in my father's neighbourhood, without any disturbance, and died there a considerable time after the close of our revolutionary war. I have been assured, that he never could be convinced that General Burgoyne and his army had been captured by the Americans. And I know, that although my father played him no trick in the matter of his public confession, yet when he found he was in no danger, he seemed to suspect it, and treated my father with greater distance after, than before that occurrence.

Affectionately, adieu.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE YEAR 1778 TO 1782.

JUNE 28, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—At the commencement of the controversy with Great Britain, which resulted in our national independence, our whole country exhibited a simplicity and plainness of manners and habits of living, exceedingly different from those which we now witness. In this respect, indeed, a difference, and a wide one, was then palpable between the Eastern and Southern Provinces; so that it was among the peculiarities of the revolution, as has been often remarked, that a heterogeneous population was on a sudden so pervaded by an all-controlling spirit of liberty, as to forget all other distinctions, and become a homogeneous mass. Climate, of course, produced some dissimilarity between the more northern and southern colonies; but it was mainly attributable to two other causes—slavery and the inequality of landed property. Slavery, indeed, then existed in all the provinces; but in the east, the number of slaves was not great, and their condition was a mild servitude; the master often working, and sometimes eating at the same table with his slave. In the south, slaves were then, as they are now, multitudinous, and in a very degraded situation—considerably more so, I think, than they are at present. In both cases,

the quantity of landed property originally held by Europeans and their descendants, had great influence in giving character to the whole population. In the eastern and middle colonies, the cultivators of the soil generally owned but small plantations; so that a farmer seldom needed more than from two to five or six slaves, and of course, he could treat them with a lenity and an approximation to equality, not practicable if the number had been much greater. In the south, on the contrary, large tracts of land were often the property of a single individual, requiring many hands for their cultivation; and this, with the nature of the climate, led to the purchase of numerous slaves—in some instances, to the amount of hundreds—and rendered it wholly impracticable to treat them as was done in the more northern colonies. These circumstances, to say nothing of an aristocratic spirit, and an aversion to Puritanism and Presbyterianism, gave complexion to the state of society in the south, very dissimilar to that of the other provinces. Yet throughout the whole country, the habits and manners of the people, and the style of living, were greatly different from what they now are; not rude, (at least I will not so characterize them,) but far more plain and simple. At that time there were but few taverns. In no part of the country were they numerous, or well kept; and in the south, they hardly had an existence. Southern gentlemen expected to entertain strangers at their own dwellings; and were sometimes desirous to detain them even longer than was convenient to their guests, for the sake of their company and conversation. Hence, southern hospitality became proverbial. In New Jersey, New York, and all New England, it is

hardly too much to say, that every clergyman's house was a clergyman's tavern. A travelling brother, without the scrape of a pen, or any knowledge of his person or his name, as an introduction, claimed a brother clergyman's house for his own accommodation, and the keeping and care of his horse, with as much freedom, and as little ceremony, as if the kindred in question had been natural and not ecclesiastical.

Dr. Young, who lived to be an octogenarian,* exclaimed—"At the age of fourscore, where is the world into which we were born?" referring to the death of coevals and the rising up of a new generation. But if this was proper and pithy in the capitol of Britain, with how much greater propriety and emphasis may it be uttered by an inhabitant of the United States, at the age contemplated? Not only will he have survived the most of his contemporaries, and seen them succeeded by a new race, but the whole face of nature and of society will have been changed during his lifetime. I can remember the time when there were dense forests where there are now fertile fields; and when agriculture in the whole United States, did not furnish an Irish potato which would now be thought tolerable. Cities and towns, within the scope of my recollection, have sprung into being, in number and beauty, and with a rapidity, of which the world does not afford another example. Cincinnati, and all

* He wrote the poem which he entitled *RESIGNATION*, when he was turned of eighty. It was said by some, that it discovered marks of enfeebled powers. But Johnson says, "There is Young in every line of it, such as he was in his best days," or language to this effect.

the other towns, in what are now called the Western States, and, indeed, the States themselves, had no existence in the days of my youth. I well remember that it was at college, about the twentieth year of my age, that I first heard of a fertile region of country, called Kentucky. You know, I suppose, that the capitol of this State received its name in honour of the Lexington in Massachusetts, where British troops were first resisted by arms. Pittsburgh, at this time, was just coming into notice, and Baltimore was yet quite a small town. Philadelphia was scarcely a third as large as it now is. The extension of New York city has been still greater; and what is now called Western New York, was then literally a howling wilderness. Boston has been greatly enlarged; and the towns of the eastern States generally, as well as those in the south, have, many of them, come into existence; and those which before had being, have been much beautified, and in every way received great improvements.

As to canals, steamboats, railroads and cars, every body knows that they are things of yesterday's production. Even turnpike roads did not exist in our country till long after a period to which I can look back. There was something that was called a turnpike road, although it little deserved the name, across Horse Neck, in the state of New York, in 1790. The first good turnpike was that between Philadelphia and Lancaster. A great clamor was raised against this by some of the German population of Pennsylvania; and several owners of farms opened their fields adjoining the turnpike gates, to let all who were so disposed pass without paying toll. Experience, however, soon not only re-

conciled the Germans and other opposers of the turn-pike to this improvement, but made them its ardent friends, and prepared them to be advocates for other meliorations.

Before our revolutionary war, there were no more than seven colleges, or institutions authorised to confer degrees in the arts, in the whole of British America. These were Harvard, in Massachusetts; Yale, in Connecticut; King's College, now Columbia, in New York; Nassau Hall, at Princeton; and Queen's College, now Rutgers, at Brunswick, in New Jersey; a college and charity school, since grown into the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia; and William and Mary's College, in Virginia. The number at present is six or seven-fold more numerous—far more so than is really advantageous to the cause of sound science. Academies and common schools have multiplied in like proportion, and are not obnoxious to the like censures.

I will just set down, as they occur to me, some of the most important scientific discoveries or improvements, which have been made during the period to which my memory extends. I thus notice, the planet Georgium Sidus, or Herschell;* and the four smaller planets;

* This planet was discovered by Herschell, in the time of our revolutionary war, when we could have no direct communication with Britain. The first information in detail of this discovery, came to the United States by way of France. Dr. Rittenhouse told me, that when he had obtained the French statement, he was able to point his telescope, so as to take the planet into its field without another movement; that at the first look his eye was on the planet. His familiar knowledge of the starry heavens was wonderful. Nor was this his only attainment. He was among the first astronomers, natural philosophers, mathematicians and mechanicians of his age. Nothing in

Ceres, Pallas, Juno and Vesta, denominated asteroids, by Dr. Herschell, and several satellites of the larger planets; nearly the whole of what is called modern chemistry; the application of steam to the useful arts. The great power of steam had been long known, but its application (particularly after Watt's famous discovery or invention,) to engines, mills and boats, and a variety of other purposes, is comparatively of recent date. To these I only add ballooning, vaccination, and the life-boat. This enumeration, I am well aware, is very far from being complete, and I with design omit all military improvements, or facilities for the destruction of human life.

But I must say a word or two about banks. Before our Revolution there was no bank in the British colonies, and probably no thought of ever creating one. The first that was established was the bank of North America, in Philadelphia; which was formed on the suggestion of Robert Morris, to aid his operations for sustaining the credit of our country, when the old continental paper money was becoming extinct. It was some years, perhaps eight or ten, before there was another bank in the United States. Who can ascertain the number which now exist?

mechanics has, I believe, exceeded his orrery. Yet he was perhaps the most modest man I have ever known. He was one of my parishioners, and a regular attendant on public worship, as often as his feeble health would permit. I attended his funeral and spoke at the grave. The remains were deposited under the pavement of his observatory, in his garden. At the request of his widow, I furnished her with a copy of my address at his interment, a part of which I afterwards found was published in Rees' Cyclopaedia; but not, I think, exactly as I wrote it.

Thus, my son, I have adverted to some of the mutations and improvements which have come into existence, since I was a boy of the age of ten years. You may live to see others as numerous and as great. Would to God that our progress hitherto had been only in that which is good, that we had not changed for the worse in the desecration of the Christian Sabbath, in open blasphemy, infidelity and atheism; in duels, murders, and assassinations; and in that insatiable cupidity of wealth, which has produced our present financial embarrassments. May a merciful God turn us from our evil ways, that his displeasure may not rest upon us. May his providential corrections, in tornadoes, inundations, floods, and numerous and extensive conflagrations, be sanctified to us all, lest still greater and more general calamities come upon us.

Affectionately adieu.

B——, JUNE 30, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—At the commencement of our Revolution, and indeed through the whole of its progress, the patriots of the day made great use of the press, in operating on the public mind. The tories attempted the same, as long as they were permitted to do it, which was till about the time of the declaration of our independence. After that, they could circulate nothing, except what was printed within the British lines, and sent forth and handed about privately.

John Holt and James Rivington were the antagonist newspaper printers in New York; the former for the whigs, the latter for the tories; my father took Holt's paper, and the tory, whose story I have already told

you, took Rivington's. These papers were published but once a week. A daily, or a tri-weekly, or a twice-a-week newspaper was, I believe, not thought of for many years after this period—I certainly heard of none. Both the papers I have mentioned, were brought by a stage from New York to a tavern, about half a mile distant from my father's, where I was commonly on the watch for their arrival. As soon as this took place, I seized the one which belonged to my father, and carried it to him with all speed. Reeking wet from the press, it was dried in haste; and he either perused it in silence, or by his order it was read to him by one of his children. It was a high gratification when this duty was allotted me, then a boy just entering my teens, but a flaming whig.

Holt's paper was headed with the picture of a snake, cut into thirteen distinct sections, and each section bearing upon it the name of one of the thirteen colonies, which then professed allegiance to the king of Great Britain. As soon as our independence was declared, all the sections of the snake disappeared, and his whole attitude was changed. His tail was brought round and inserted in his mouth, or placed by its side, and his whole body was formed into a regular circle, the head and the tail being at the top of the paper. This snake picture made so deep an impression on my youthful memory, that I retain it very distinctly to the present hour. This paper of Holt's had great influence throughout the whole wide region of its circulation, and its editor was considered as a public benefactor. He and Rivington, of course, pelted each other incessantly and severely, each endeavouring to sustain his cause by all

the facts and arguments he could muster, and by some falsehoods too. Rivington remained in the city of New York after it was abandoned by the American troops, and became king's printer during the whole of the ensuing war, and nothing could exceed the violence of his abuse of the *rebels*, as he delighted to call the Americans, and the contempt with which he affected to treat their army, and *Mr. Washington, its leader*. It was, therefore, a matter of universal surprise, on the return of peace, that this most obnoxious man remained after the departure of the British troops. But the surprise soon ceased, by its becoming publicly known, that he had been a spy for General Washington, while employed in abusing him, and had imparted useful information, which could not otherwise have been obtained. He had, in foresight of the evacuation of New York by the British army, supplied himself from London with a large assortment of what are called the British classics, and other works of merit; so that, for some time after the conclusion of the war, he had the sale of these publications almost wholly to himself. Amongst others, I dealt with him pretty largely; and with nothing else to make me a favourite, the fulsome letters which he addressed to me were a real curiosity. He was the greatest sycophant imaginable; very little under the influence of any principle but self-interest, yet of the most courteous manners to all with whom he had intercourse. You, I believe, have read the two pieces of satire in which Dr. Witherspoon has gibbeted him and Benjamin Towns, another printer, who served the British while their army held Philadelphia, and remained there when they left the city.

But pamphlets, as well as newspapers, were employed in our revolutionary controversy, with the advocates of the measures of the king and parliament of Great Britain. Colonel Hamilton made the first public display of his talents, by writing, when he was under twenty years of age, an able and spirited reply to a long publication in New York. My own father wrote a pamphlet, entitled, as well as I can remember, "Observations on the present controversy between Great Britain and her American Colonies." But by far the most noted publication of all was Paine's "Common Sense." I think this pamphlet had a greater run than any other ever published in our country. It was printed anonymously, and it was a considerable time before its author was known or suspected. In the meantime large editions were frequently issued; and in newspapers, at taverns, and at almost every place of public resort, it was advertised, and very generally in these words, "Common Sense for eighteen pence." I lately looked into a copy of this pamphlet, and was ready to wonder at its popularity and the effect it produced, when originally published. But the truth is, it struck a string which required but a touch to make it vibrate. The country was ripe for independence, and only needed somebody to tell the people so, with decision, boldness and plausibility. Paine did this recklessly, having nothing to lose, whether his suggestions were received favourably or unfavourably; while wiser and better men than he were yet maturing their minds by reflection, and looking well to every step which they took or advised. Paine's talent, and he certainly possessed it eminently, was, to make a taking and striking appeal

to popular feelings, when he saw it tending toward a point to which he wished to push it, whether for good or for evil. Hence the influence of his publications in England, in the early stages of the French revolution; and hence also, the effect of his two volumes of infidelity, entitled "The Age of Reason," when that revolution had prostrated all religion in France, and as he hoped and believed, was in progress to annihilate Christianity throughout the world. His life was the best exposition of the true tendency of his Age of Reason. He was the victim of vice and of ungoverned passions, and died a loathsome sot, so offensive as to render great self-denial requisite, in order to minister to his necessities, as he was falling into the grave. How just is it in God, when he abandons a blasphemer to the influence of the sentiments which he has cherished and uttered; and thus provides an antidote to his impieties, in the miserable life and death of their author!

Affectionately adieu.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE YEAR 1782 TO 1788.

B——, JULY 6, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—It was common, I have been told, among the French, in the time of their revolution, to characterise a notorious falsifier by saying, "He lies like the Bulletin." In our Revolution, we had a common saying, the opposite of this, which was derived from sacred regard to truth manifested by the old Continental Congress, in all their public statements. These statements, which often related to military operations, were invariably attested by the signature of their secretary; and hence, when a man reported any thing in the way of news, which seemed to be doubted, he sought to confirm it by saying, "It's as true as if Charles Thomson's name was to it." I do not remember that any representation to which the name of this estimable man* was attached, ever proved to be false,

* I had the happiness to be personally acquainted with Charles Thomson. He was tall of stature, well proportioned, and of primitive simplicity of manners. He was one of the best classical scholars that our country has ever produced. The old Congress had several successive presidents, but Mr. Thomson was their secretary from first to last. You have seen in my library a copy of his translation of the whole Bible, from the Septuagint of the Old Testament, and from the original of the New. He made three or four transcriptions of this whole work, still endeavouring in each to make improvements

or in any material circumstance incorrect. This carefulness of the old Congress never to deceive the people, invested that body with a dignity, and secured for it the public confidence in a wonderful degree; and this confidence was of the highest importance and the happiest effect, while we were passing from a colonial to an independent state; for, during this period, there was no other organized body, or official individuals, whose supremacy was acknowledged, or whose authority was regarded, if it were not exercised in suberviency to the doings of Congress.

It can scarcely be conceived by the present generation, what perfect deference and implicit obedience were yielded at that time, to a simple recommendation of this venerated body; for it had, as you know, no power to make laws, nor to go farther than to recommend what appeared to be proper and conducive to the public welfare. Yet no law passed by a legislature, nor any mandate issued by a despotic sovereign, ever

on his former labours. After our revolutionary war was terminated, and before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, our country was in a very deplorable state, and many of our surviving patriotic fathers, and Mr. Thomson among the rest, could not easily rid themselves of gloomy apprehensions. Mr. Thomson's resource (and who will say it was not a noble one, and worthy of a vigorous, cultivated and pious mind,) was to soothe his painful feelings, and await the developments of divine providence, in the study of the sacred Scriptures. There was then no translation of the Septuagint into the English language, and he determined to make one; and to this, when accomplished, he added a version of the New Testament, varying very considerably from that in common use—in language, but not in sense. Delighted with his employment, he was reluctant to quit it, and his last work was a Harmony of the Four Gospels, in the language of his own version.

received a more prompt, strict and universal obedience, than the recommendations of Congress in the early stages of our revolution. Nothing has been found more difficult than to change, on a sudden, the inveterate habits and usages of a nation. Peter the Great was near raising a rebellion, by ordering his Russian subjects to shave their beards. Yet in two instances, perhaps greater difficulties were completely surmounted by the old Congress. I refer to the recommendation to forbear entirely the use of East India teas, and to discontinue all expense in mourning, beyond the wearing of a piece of crape on the left arm, which is continued till the present time. These usages were deeply wrought into the habits of our people, but they were abandoned at once, and almost without a murmur. The first of these recommended measures bore particularly hard on our countrywomen, and in particular on the tea-sots, of whom there were at that time no inconsiderable number. But obedience to the recommendation of Congress was the test of patriotism; and it is but justice to our revolutionary mothers to say, that they were as ready to make sacrifices as their husbands, and that their daughters were as good whigs as their sons. I do believe, that a known tory, or a reputed coward, would have been hard set to find a reputable wife among the whole feminine community of our country, while our war with Great Britain continued. But to return: All East India teas were renounced as an utter abomination. I remember, indeed, that a few were suspected of using the article secretly; but the secrecy was complete, for had it been otherwise, it would have gone hard with the transgressor, whether

male or female. No search was made for the obnoxious drug, and indeed its destruction, I believe, was not recommended. It came into use again after the declaration of independence, and of course there must have been a preservation of a part of the old store, for our foreign trade was all but annihilated by the British fleets, and trade with those who remained within their military stations was interdicted under severe penalties. A furtive trade, however, was carried on to a small extent, particularly toward the close of the war. But the use of India tea of every kind was suspended till the period I have mentioned, and the whole vegetable kingdom of our country was laid under contribution to furnish a substitute. Some used one thing, and some another, and some nothing at all, as fancy or reason prompted, or an influential friend recommended.

But articles of far greater importance than tea and expensive mourning, were to be supplied, or the want of them to be experienced. Our country at large had been accustomed to receive, by importation from abroad—from Britain almost wholly—a great part of the articles necessary for clothing, such as woollen cloths and linens of every quality, from the coarsest to the finest; as well as salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, sugar and molasses. With the cessation of our foreign trade, we were thrown on our domestic resources for the supply of these indispensable articles—for indispensable some of them manifestly were, and if others were not so in fact, they were so in the general estimation of our citizens. I cannot pretend to speak at length of the inventions and expedients that were employed in contriving and bringing into use substitutes for the foreign sup-

plies of which we were deprived. Domestic manufactures were encouraged. The women vied with each other in producing the best linen and the best fulled woollen cloths, of various colours, for the clothing of their husbands and children. Their daughters were taught to be content with—perhaps I should rather say to be proud of—the articles of dress which they had manufactured for themselves. Salt was made by boiling sea water, on the margin of the ocean; and when the British destroyed, as they sometimes did, one set of works, another was speedily erected, either in the same or a different location. Saltpetre was diligently made by the best process then known in our country. Gunpowder was manufactured slowly, and was greatly deficient in quantity for the supply of our army, although all that could be collected was appropriated to that object, and although our privateers captured some vessels that were carrying military stores to our invaders, and Congress was successful in privately obtaining a considerable quantity from magazines on the African coast. But General Washington was, I believe, oftener than once obliged to conceal from the public, and even from his army, the want of powder for certain military operations, which otherwise he might and would have undertaken. It was among his severe trials that he was obliged to bear in silence, for the good of his country, popular discontent and censure, for the apparent inaction of his army. I remember to have heard him censured for not fighting the British, when, as was afterwards known, he had not powder enough at command to sustain for twenty minutes any thing like a general engagement. As to

what, in Yankee dialect, was then and is still called *sweetening*, various means were employed to obtain this important article. Sugar, so far as I know, was not produced at all. Perhaps some might be made from the sugar maple tree, in places where that tree abounded; but it did not abound in the vicinity of my abode. The common maple tree, however, was abundant, and its sap was obtained and boiled to the consistency of molasses. My father constructed a mill for grinding the common Indian corn stalks, which he knew contained a considerable quantity of saccharine matter. But the juice of these stalks, when converted into molasses, was found to possess an acrid and unpleasant taste, which he was not chemist enough to correct, and the experiment, after one year's trial, was abandoned. The most pleasant syrup that he was able to obtain, and did obtain in considerable quantity, was formed by boiling down the unfermented juice of sweet apples. The sugar beet was then unknown.

I shall add nothing further to this long letter, but that, at its date, I enter on my seventy-ninth year.

Affectionately, adieu.

B——, JULY 13, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—You know from the published histories of our revolution, that at its commencement General Gage was the royal Governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay. He published a notable proclamation soon after the conflict between the British troops and the provincials at Lexington, and before the more serious and sanguinary one of Breed's, or Bunker's Hill. In this proclamation, he offered a full and free pardon

to those who should, within a specified time, renounce their rebellion, and promise submission to the king and parliament of Great Britain—explicitly excepting, however, from this act of grace, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whose crimes were affirmed to be too great to be met with any thing but condign punishment. When I took breakfast with the latter named gentleman at his house in Boston, as mentioned in a former letter, Gage's proclamation, with its memorable exception, became a topic of conversation. I had thought, and so stated to my host, that John Adams had also been included in that exception. My host replied, in a very animated tone, "No sir, he was not excepted—Hancock and I only had that distinction." He manifestly counted it a high honour that he had but one associate in the proscription, and would not suffer a third to share it with Hancock and himself. What, alas, is human foresight! It never entered the head of Gage, that the men whom he hated above all others, and on whose destruction he was bent, might be destined to see the day when they would not only glory in his disappointed vengeance, but when each, in turn, would possess the very office which he then held, as governor of the province—or rather, that the territory which was then a province, should become an independent State, of which these men, in succession, should be the governors. Hancock was governor, and Adams lieutenant governor, when my interview with the latter took place; but shortly after Hancock resigned the gubernatorial chair, to which Adams succeeded. This whole affair strikes me as bearing no inconsiderable resemblance to the case of Haman and Mordecai, as narrated in the canonical

book of Esther. I will just add, that the gasconading proclamation of Gage was immediately burlesqued in a song, which I learned by heart at the time, and of which a fragment still adheres to my memory.

You cannot easily conceive what a surprising influence the combat at Lexington, the battle of Bunker's Hill, and the proclamation I have mentioned, unitedly had, in awaking a high military spirit, not only among the men, but the boys also, of our land in general. In our cities and large towns, we still frequently see boys aping military men and movements; but juvenile soldiery was a far different matter at the period in contemplation. We—for I was a party concerned—we had companies composed of boys from ten to fifteen years of age; none, I think, were admitted under ten, unless an individual or two of uncommon growth; and at sixteen all were enrolled in the adult militia. Each company elected its own officers, consisting of a captain, a first and second lieutenant, an ensign, and two or three sergeants. We had wooden guns, but as much like muskets as we could get them. Our drum and fife, though the former was not large, might vie with those of our seniors. We frequently met for training, drilling and marching. The manual exercise was learned by all. For myself, I obtained a pamphlet, in which this exercise was fully explained, according to the best system of the day, which was the Prussian, established, I suppose, by the great Frederick, of whose military exploits we often heard. Of this exercise I made myself so much a master, that I had the honour of standing before the company as *fugleman*. Where this word came from, I know not; but the office was,

to exhibit, for the imitation of the company, a correct performance of the various motions in handling a fire-lock, and the several attitudes and movements of the body in military evolutions. In all this, we were encouraged and cheered on by our parents. Nor was this military training, in the existing state of the country, a useless or unimportant employment. Life, liberty, property, and indeed all that freemen value, was believed to be in jeopardy, and not to be preserved, otherwise than by force of arms; and this training of boys, not only cherished in them a military spirit, but prepared them to act with skill and efficiency, as soon as they were enrolled in the legally established militia; and sometimes, as we shall see, even before that period.

You know that the place of my birth and boyhood was in East New Jersey, within a mile of the line which divides the counties of Essex and Morris; my paternal residence was in the latter of these counties. This location placed our family, at a certain period, in very hazardous circumstances; for on the retreat of General Washington, and the pursuit of the British army, from the Hudson river to the Delaware, we were within twelve miles of the enemy's line of march. My father, moreover, in addition to his general character as a decided and active whig, had been a member of the Provincial Congress that formed the constitution of New Jersey, and the chairman of the committee that made and reported the original draft of that instrument. On these accounts, he was peculiarly obnoxious to the tories; and by their information, we may suppose, to the British officers also. At any rate, it was in rumor that a party of the enemy's cavalry was to be detached,

to seize a number of the leading whigs in Morris county, and my father, of course, among the rest. His friends urged him to leave his house and to retire to an obscure part of his parish for safety. He resisted their solicitations for a time; but on a certain evening, in which the rumor was rife that on the ensuing night the British light-horse were to make the threatened excursion, he left his house with my mother, and was accompanied by a whig refugee from New York, who had taken shelter in our family. The house was left in my charge with an old female domestic. My father's instructions to me were, to treat the enemy, if they came, with the greatest civility. If they inquired for him, as they doubtless would, I was to tell them, that he had left his house, and was gone I knew not whither; and that this statement might not violate truth, he ordered me to avoid seeing the direction in which he should go, when he took his departure. I did so, nor did I ever know where, or with whom, he took lodgings for that night. Happily, however, the British did not come, either on that night, or at any other time. When the morning was considerably advanced, the fugitives, with some caution in their movements, returned; and I believe were all mortified that they had fled when they might have remained in safety. The New York refugee, who was a native Englishman, seemed to be particularly vexed with himself. I recollect his saying, "I will never go again, till I see the face and eyes of them." After this, there was an occurrence which, for a short time, made us all think that the fears of the night had begun to be

realized. But of this I shall give no account at present.

It was at this eventful period, that the whole militia of the upper part of New Jersey were called into active service, and left their houses and families, with no other protectors than boys, and old men, no longer capable of public military duty. You have often heard of "the times that tried men's souls;" and one of those times was that of which I am now speaking. There was, for some weeks in succession, nothing to prevent our enemy from making inroads into any part of the state of New Jersey, and from plundering, and perpetrating every enormity to which a victorious and licentious soldiery are always prone. We were all considered as rebels, who, if we escaped with our lives, might think ourselves fortunate, although every thing else was sacrificed. The tories, too, who had remained, and had kept silence through fear, now made a merit of their known opinions and feelings; and sought to recommend themselves to the British, by giving them every information which was calculated to aid their cause and injure ours. To prevent this, as far as possible, the old men and boys of our neighbourhood kept guard, at a bridge over the Passaic river, which was the usual passing place from the county of Morris to that of Essex, where the British troops were in force. At the station where this guard was kept, I stood sentinel, in my fifteenth year, in as cold a December night as our climate almost ever knows. I arrested one man, who was going to the bridge. He was very loth to be stopped, but as he had not the countersign, I

presented my bayonet, which my previous training had taught me to do *secundum artem*, and he yielded at once; and I conducted him to the officer of the guard. Whether he was going to the British or not, I am not sure; although the circumstances were suspicious. But enough for once.

Affectionately, adieu.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE YEAR 1778 TO 1782.

B——, JULY 20, 1848.

MY DEAR A.—In my last letter I mentioned that my father was a member of the provincial congress of New Jersey, by which the constitution of that State was formed. I find myself disposed to say something more on that topic; for I think it due to the memory of your grandfather, in consideration of his clerical character, that you should be informed that he was so far from seeking to obtain a seat in that congress, that he did all he could to avoid it, short of absolutely refusing to serve. He also left the congress, as soon as the main business—the formation of a constitution for the State—was completed, refused to return, although pressed to do so, and declined unequivocally to be again a candidate for membership in any legislative body. He acted thus, not because he regretted what he had already done, but because he held that only on some very extraordinary occasion, such as that to which he had yielded, was it lawful for a minister of the gospel, who had a parochial charge, to leave his flock and the full discharge of his spiritual duties, for any civil and secular station or employment whatsoever. He did not blame Mr. Caldwell, of Elizabethtown, who was driven from his pastoral charge by the British, and who afterwards lost his life

in a most melancholy manner, for becoming a quartermaster and contractor for the American army; nor Dr. Witherspoon, when the college of which he was president was broken up by the advance of the British army, for holding a seat in the congress of the United States for several years in succession.

Dr. Witherspoon was a member of the provincial congress with my father, when Governor Franklin was brought before it, under a military guard. The governor treated the whole congress with marked indignity, refused to answer any questions that were put to him, represented it as a lawless assembly, composed of ignorant and vulgar men, utterly incapable of devising any thing for the public good, and who had rashly subjected themselves to the charge and deserved punishment of rebellion. When he finished his tirade of abuse, Dr. Witherspoon rose, and let loose upon him a copious stream of that irony and sarcasm which he always had at command; and in which he did not hesitate to allude to the governor's illegitimate origin, and to his entire want, in his early training, of all scientific and liberal knowledge. At length he concluded, nearly, if not exactly, in these words—"On the whole, Mr. President, I think that Governor Franklin has made us a speech every way worthy of his exalted birth and refined education." This account I received from the lips of my father. Dr. Witherspoon, having been chosen by the body to which he belonged, a member of the continental congress, left his provincial appointment before the adoption of the constitution. When he took his seat in the general congress, he found that the subject under discussion, and which I

believe had been continued for some days, was the immediate adoption of the declaration of independence. He observed that the principal stress of the objections to that measure, was laid on the affirmation that the country was not yet ripe for such decisive action; and that the new members, of whom several had very recently arrived, had not heard the arguments on the subject which had taken place on that floor. The doctor did not speak till near the close of the debate; but in the short speech which he ultimately made, he remarked, that although he and some other members had not heard all that had passed in that honourable body, yet that they had not wanted other and ample sources of information relative to this most important subject; and that, in his judgment, the country was not only ripe for independence, but was in danger of becoming *rotten* for the want of it, if its declaration were longer delayed. The substance of this statement I heard from the doctor himself; who also said, Mr. Dickinson (subsequently the president of Pennsylvania, before the formation of the present constitution of that State,) was the most active and eloquent opposer of the immediate declaration of independence.

When I witness the intrigue and scuffle, now so frequent, to secure a seat in congress, or for some other station of eminence, I often look back, and think of the contrast which it forms with the times of which I am now writing. Then, every man who went to congress, went there with a halter about his neck. A son of the distinguished John Jay, said to me in conversation, within a few days past, that his father told him that it was a common saying among the members

of the old congress, "We must hang together, or hang singly." The whole community, indeed, was impressed with the conviction, that for men of political prominence there was no alternative but victory or death. The best and ablest men, be their vocation what it might, were sought for, to occupy the places of power and trust; and peremptorily to refuse to serve, was sure to be followed by the reproach of cowardice or the suspicions of toryism. The result was, that the choicest men of the country had the management of public affairs, and had it without envy or competition. It must be remembered, however, that what I here say, was applicable only to the first stages of the revolution; for before its termination, there was some competition, yet nothing like what is now so common. For some time there was not, I think, in the whole country, such a thing as a civil lucrative office; and in the army, all were losers, except a few contractors for the necessary supplies. Even the members of congress, who were paid by the States that sent them, had often to look to their own resources for the means of a comfortable subsistence; and some refused an appointment, or a re-appointment, because they could not bear the expense which it involved. But although this bore hard on public men, it greatly contributed to the public weal. The very reason why our revolutionary affairs were wisely and successfully conducted, was, that the conducting of them was in the hands of those who were both capable and desirous to manage them for the good of the country, and for no other object or purpose. Congressmen despatched their business with as little delay as was consistent with fidelity, that they might

diminish a personal tax, which many of them could with difficulty pay.

My last letter was a long one, and this would be still longer, if I should add to it an extended extract from a work in my possession, which I had intended should make a part of it. Perhaps the extract I have alluded to may be inserted in my next communication. But this I do not promise. Affectionately, adieu.

B——, August 6, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—There was nothing of great moment in our national struggle for independence that I think of with so little satisfaction, or rather with so much regret, as of the paper currency, which, for about five years, constituted the only medium of commerce in our country. It is a proverbial maxim, as true as it is trite, that *money is the sinews of war*. Of this, our revolutionary patriots were fully sensible. At the same time, they well knew that all the silver and gold in the land, if they could have commanded it, which they could not, was utterly insufficient to defray the expenses of a single campaign. What was to be done? They could not borrow from abroad, for we were not yet a nation; nor likely to become so, in the opinion of the money-lenders of Europe. A paper currency was our only resource. This had been long in use; and, except in some parts of New England, in which there had been a depreciated paper money by the name of *Old Tenor*—it was as readily received as coin. "This," says a historian, "was in some degree owing to a previous confidence which had been begotten by honesty and fidelity in discharging the engagements of government. From

New York to Georgia, there never had been, in matters relating to money, an instance of the breach of public faith."* The first "Continental bills of credit," as they were called, were issued in June and July, 1775, a year before the declaration of independence, and for more than two years they were not sensibly depreciated. The faith of the United Colonies was pledged for their redemption, to take place four years from the date of their emission; and each colony was directed to find ways and means to pay its proportion of the common debt. But the exigencies of the war required, or were believed to require, a frequent resort to new issues; so that when the depreciation commenced, it went forward with something like the rapidity of geometrical progression. Congress had no power to impose taxes. They called on the States to do it, but they called in vain. Taxation was unpopular, not only because people are generally reluctant to contribute their due proportion to public uses, but because the war itself had originated in resisting a tax—a tax upon tea. In truth, the country was in a dilemma; the dilemma of giving up the conflict for our liberties, or of continuing it by bringing calamities of a most grievous kind on a large number of innocent, and even meritorious individuals, for the most ardent whigs were the greatest sufferers. The latter part of the distressing alternative was adopted. Not that it was foreseen, for it was long and generally believed that the whole debt would eventually

* Ramsay's History of the American Revolution, vol. II., page 173. If you wish to see this subject impartially discussed, read Ramsay at the place here referred to.

be fairly and fully paid. It is justly remarked by the historian already quoted, that "in every department of government the Americans erred, but in nothing so much as in that which related to money." When, however, it became evident that the continental bills of credit would never be redeemed at any thing like their nominal value, even then, if those whom the depreciation had subjected to the greatest privations could have taken a vote, a large majority, it is probable, would have said, "Go on with the war, let it fare with us as it may." *Liberty or death* had been the popular cry at the commencement of the revolution, and the time of trial had now arrived. At this crisis, I do believe that a number would have been willing, had it been practicable, to save their estates (to say nothing of their lives) by yielding to the demands of the mother country; but a far greater number, I am persuaded, would have chosen to redeem the original pledge, at least so far as property was concerned.

But although the country was under the necessity of making a choice of evils, these evils were greatly increased by unwise and unjust measures, both of public bodies and private individuals. In the latter stages of the war, congress contained fewer men of distinguished wisdom and stern integrity than those had been who had led its councils at an earlier period. Some such men, however, there were at all times in that venerable body; but at the period in contemplation, it is well known, that their opinions and pleas were overruled by the majority. The recommendation to the States to enact laws for regulating the price of labour, manufactures, and commodities of all sorts, even

of the very necessities of life—for making the depreciated paper money a legal tender in the discharge of all debts, not excepting those in which the contracts expressly declared that they were to be paid in gold and silver—for declaring that whosoever should in any commercial transaction give a preference to gold and silver over the paper currency, should be deemed an enemy to the liberties of the United States, and should also forfeit the property sold or offered for sale—such recommendations as these, which never were and never could be carried generally into effect, savour so much of weakness, as to give rise to a suspicion that something beside weakness was concerned in their promulgation. Not, by any means, that the old congress were, at any time, justly chargeable with corruption. But men are often not conscious of all the motives by which they are influenced; and it is believed that from an undue regard to popular opinion, and a deficient regard to strict justice and equity, some, if not all of the above recited acts, cannot be vindicated. In the same category may be placed the plan which was persevered in for a considerable time after the abuses to which it gave rise had become palpable—the plan of allowing agents who furnished supplies for the army, to receive a commission on the amount of their purchases, thereby putting it in their power, and even tempting them, to make the amount as large as possible.

The individual States were culpable, if not for sanctioning the recommendations of congress as above recited, yet certainly for not complying with other recommendations manifestly connected with the public welfare. Such, in particular, were those which related

to the relief of the intolerable sufferings of the army, for the want of both food and clothing; and the neglect of several States to furnish their equitable quota of troops for the public service and defence. In relation to both these items, General Washington joined his earnest entreaties to those of congress. Yet, in many instances, the needed relief was long delayed, and at last but partially afforded. The whole cause of the country was sometimes put in the most serious jeopardy by these neglects.

The whole community was blameable. Not only was there no public remonstrance against erroneous and unjust measures sanctioned by legal authority, but very many availed themselves of those very measures to perpetrate acts of heinous injustice and iniquity. Debts, in numerous instances, were paid in depreciated paper of not a tenth part of the value of the property for which the debts had been contracted. There were a few noble exceptions to this practice, but the popular current ran strongly in its favour. The strange spectacle was witnessed, of creditors concealing themselves from their debtors, or trying as much as possible to keep out of their way; and of debtors hunting up their creditors, and paying them without mercy, or making them the legal tender, which, if refused, nothing could afterwards be demanded. By these iniquitous transactions, widows, orphans, superannuated men, and indeed persons of all descriptions, whose livings depended on an income from a fixed capital, were often reduced to absolute poverty and want. Corporations also lost their funds; for before the revolution there were no banks, or public loans of any kind. Money was lent to indi-

viduals, who gave for security their personal bonds, or mortgages on their real property. The sufferings produced from the causes here indicated, were piteous in the extreme.

But consequences still more deplorable followed from the want of public and private fidelity to contracts and engagements. The public morals were deeply corrupted. Dr. Ramsay, who published his History of the American Revolution in 1789, concludes the chapter to which I have repeatedly referred, in the following manner: "The evils of depreciation did not terminate with the war. They extend to the present hour. That the helpless part of the community were legislatively deprived of their property, was among the lesser evils which resulted from the legal tender of the depreciated bills of credit. The iniquity of the laws estranged the minds of many of the citizens from the habits and love of justice. The nature of obligations was so far changed, that he was reckoned the honest man, who from principle delayed to pay his debts. The mounds which government had erected to secure the observance of honesty in the commercial intercourse of man with man, were broken down. Truth, honour and justice were swept away by the overflowing deluge of legal iniquity; nor have they yet assumed their ancient and accustomed seats. Time and industry have already, in a great degree, repaired the losses of property which the citizens sustained during the war; but both have hitherto failed in effacing the taint which was then communicated to their principles; nor can its total ablution be expected, till a new generation arises, unpracticed in the iniquities of their fathers."

I was young when the times passed over me, in which the events took place of which I have given you some account in this letter. But I can never forget them, nor ever cease to lament that they sadly tarnished the glory of that revolution in which they occurred. In another letter, I hope to finish what I have yet to say about the old continental currency.

Adieu for the present.

B——, August 12, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—The issuing of the continental bills of credit began, as stated in my last letter, in June and July, 1775. The first emission consisted of no more than three million of dollars; but by the successive issues which followed, the aggregate in 1779 reached the enormous amount of two hundred millions. In that year, notwithstanding, congress addressed a circular letter to the people at large, in which they rejected with indignation the idea that the credit of the country would be dishonoured by not redeeming in gold and silver, the entire paper currency then afloat in the community; yet in the very next year (1780) they adopted the plan of sinking the whole, at the rate of forty paper dollars for one of silver. I shall never forget the bitterness with which I heard this proceeding denounced, by a man whom it had ruined. "Congress," said he, "first told a lie, and then swore to it, (referring to the circular letter,) and by believing them, I have been reduced to poverty." He had owned a valuable and beautiful farm, adjoining a thriving village, which he had sold for what he considered a very advantageous price; but he had kept his paper bills, expecting they

would all be fairly redeemed in metallic money, till they scarcely sufficed for the purchase of liquor with which to begin the business of tavern keeping. When he uttered the speech I have mentioned, he had obtained the stewardship of the college of which I was a member. I will add, that when I went to this college I wore a coat which, about a year previously, had been bought at the price of a thousand dollars. It had been intended for a British staff officer, and had no military appendages; but the vessel which carried it, with other similar articles, was taken, while making for New York, by an American privateer—and from a partner in the privateer my coat was purchased. Such were the times of which I am now speaking.

It is but justice to state, that the course of events in our national revolution was not foreseen or expected by any one. Till near the time when independence was declared, congress and the people at large hoped and believed, as I have heretofore stated, that our controversy with the mother country would be amicably settled; and after independence was proclaimed, there was, for a considerable time, except in a few enlightened minds, an almost infatuated expectation that the conflict would be short—that each campaign would probably be the last. Hence, in opposition to the opinion and remonstrances of General Washington, soldiers were enlisted for a short period; and hence, also, each emission of paper money it was hoped would be the final one.

My father was among the first who foresaw and predicted the fate of the depreciating currency. He had good reason to remember the *Old Tenor* of Massa-

chusetts, mentioned in my last letter, for he lost a part of his patrimony by its depreciation. When, therefore, he saw that one emission of continental bills speedily followed another, without any provision for redeeming them, he became perfectly satisfied that the whole would become of little value. I remember to have heard him say, that he could increase his property to any given amount, by the purchase of farms on a short credit, and when the time of payment should come, by selling a half or a third, for a price which would pay for the whole. But he had too much honesty to do any such thing. He bought nothing, except a small piece of ground adjoining his own, which had belonged to a tory, and which was sold at vendue before the currency was sensibly depreciated.* He, however,

* The tory who had owned this land was by his trade a blacksmith; but he possessed considerable native talent, and my father taught him the art of surveying, by which he acquired a handsome property. He became an officer, a Major I think, in a corps of royal refugees—and when he heard that my father had bought a piece of his land, he wrote him a most abusive letter from New York, or Staten Island, and found means to have it safely delivered. This letter I lately found among my old papers. My father took no notice of it; but, boy as I was, I answered it, and tried—with what success I know not—to get it into his hands. Several years after the peace, I saw this man in a place of public worship, while I was preaching. His head was then white with age, and his whole appearance was venerable. I should not have recognised him, but on inquiring after him, as a respectable stranger, I ascertained his identity, and I think was also told that he had come to the city where I saw him, on some business relative to the property of refugees, provided for in our treaty of peace with Britain, which, indeed, was nothing more than a simple recommendation to the several legislatures to restore to the royal refugees their forfeited estates—which was done but in a few instances.

thought it his duty, when he observed how his fellow citizens were making sacrifices of their landed estates, to give to the public his views on the subject of the currency. This he did in a series of essays, over the signature of EUMENES, which were first published in a neighbouring newspaper, and speedily re-published in several other papers in various parts of the country. In these essays, he delineated, as to its substance, the same plan which, shortly after, was adopted by congress for liquidating the public debt. What use, or whether any use was made of the essays, in forming the congressional plan, I know not; but the two plans were in principle the same. They consisted in fixing a scale of depreciation corresponding to the several periods at which the deterioration of the paper currency had taken place—commencing with two for one in 1777, and terminating with forty for one in 1780. As the essays were published before the sanction given by congress to the principles which they advocated, they subjected their author to much censure from those who cherished the belief that the continental bills would be redeemed agreeably to the pledge which the face of them exhibited. My father was generally believed to be their author; and but for his character as a decided whig and friend to his country, he might have been in danger of popular violence. As it was, he did not escape a portion of vituperation in the newspapers of the day.

On recollection, two things occur in addition to what I have stated relative to the continental bills, which I will briefly notice. The first is, that the depreciation of the bills was increased in its rapidity, by being

counterfeited within the British lines, and secretly sent abroad among our people; and by the several States emitting a large paper currency of their own, which was mingled with that of the congress. The second item is, that each continental bill had on its face a device, accompanied by a Latin motto. I will give two examples. The five dollar bill exhibited a *thorn-bush*, with a *hand* pricked by attempting to finger it. The motto was—*Sustine vel abstine*. The other bill referred to, showed on its face *a dark cloud in a tempest*, with the motto *Serenabit*. These devices, with their mottos, manifested a good deal of ingenuity; and some years ago I saw published a catalogue of the most of them, if not of the whole.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE YEAR 1778 TO 1782.

B——, August 20, 1840.

MY DEAR A.—The treatment which the American prisoners received from the British in our revolutionary war, after making every allowance for their being regarded as captured rebels, was, in a very high degree, cruel and impolitic; cruel, because in numerous instances it was worse than immediate military execution; and impolitic, because it had no other effect on their countrymen, than greatly to exasperate them, produce retaliation, and cherish a spirit of vindictiveness. In the early periods of the war, the British made many more prisoners than the Americans. This of itself would prevent any thing like a general exchange; but the truth was, the British at that period did not desire an exchange. They expected to conquer the country, and were willing to retain their prisoners; probably expecting that by the severity of their treatment, others would be deterred from taking up arms in defence of their country. But when it became evident that this effect was not produced, and especially after the surrender of Burgoyne's whole army, and the prisoners made by General Washington at Trenton and Princeton, augmented in number by the partizan warfare

which followed in the succeeding winter and spring, the British became willing to listen to proposals for the exchange of prisoners, and the sufferings of those they had then in their power, were in a measure mitigated. The Tories were more cruel in the treatment of their captured countrymen, than the British whom they had joined. Governor Franklin had found his way into New York, and had become president of the "Board of Associated Royalists," which Sir Henry Clinton had previously formed. A party of refugees belonging to this association, had taken, after a gallant resistance, a small military post in Monmouth county, New Jersey, and made a prisoner of Captain Joshua Huddy, its brave commander. They took him to New York, and after a close confinement of fifteen days, they sentenced him to be hanged. This sentence, a party of them, sent out for the purpose, executed four days afterwards, on the heights of Middleton. They fixed a label on his breast when they left him, with an inscription which concluded in these words—"Up goes Huddy for Philip White." This White had been taken by a party of Jersey militia, and had been killed while attempting to make his escape. On this occasion, General Washington advertised the British, that such deeds as that which had been perpetrated in the instance just mentioned, should no longer pass without retaliation. In a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he suggested that the murderers of Huddy should be delivered up to him. When it was found that this suggestion would not be complied with, the threatened retaliation was provided for, by the British prisoners of the same military rank as that of Captain Huddy being required to furnish a

victim to avenge his death. This was done by casting lots, and the lot fell on a Captain Asgill. I well remember the deep interest which I felt myself, and which I believe was felt by the whole community, in the expected fate of this unfortunate man. But his life was ultimately spared, to the joy, I would hope, of all who were acquainted with his story. The execution of the fearful destiny which hung over him, was delayed from time to time, no doubt with the wish of General Washington, that something might occur to render its taking place unnecessary. This wish was at last gratified. Sir Henry Clinton, under whose connivance the royal refugees had acted, was succeeded in the chief command of the British army by Sir Guy Carlton, a man of a very different character. Indeed it ought, whenever he is mentioned, to be recorded to the honour of Sir Guy Carlton, that from first to last, where he commanded, American prisoners were treated with humanity, and even with kindness. After the fall of General Montgomery in the attack of Quebec, the prisoners who fell into his hands, to the amount of several hundred, received clothing as well as sufficient food, and were at length dismissed, with all necessary supplies, to their several homes, under an oath not to serve against the British troops till they should be exchanged. He broke up the association of royal refugees, informed General Washington that he disapproved of their proceedings, and promised a further investigation of their conduct; although a court martial had acquitted the leader of the party that murdered Huddy, affirming that he had acted under the instructions of Governor Franklin. In the meantime, the

Count de Vergennes, prime minister of France, wrote to General Washington, making intercession for Captain Asgill, accompanied by a most pathetic letter from his mother to the Count, beseeching him to interpose for the preservation of the life of her son. As the war by this time was drawing to a close, and a confidence was entertained, from the known character of Sir Guy Carlton, that no atrocities similar to that for which Asgill was doomed to suffer, would be permitted, congress, on receiving copies of the letter mentioned above, passed a resolution—"That the commander in chief be directed to set Captain Asgill at liberty." He was released accordingly, and permitted to go to New York. During the whole period in which he was under sentence of death, his condition commanded universal sympathy; he was treated with the greatest tenderness, and witnessed at last the general satisfaction which his release occasioned.

You will probably remark that the charge of cruelty which I bring against the British, is general and indefinite—accompanied only by the single specification of their inhumanity and injustice in the case of Huddy. The truth is, that when I began this letter, I expected to specify in the latter part of it, what I painfully witnessed with my own eyes. But this I find, from the length to which I have already gone, must be reserved for another communication. In the meantime, I will simply copy from Ramsay's History, the report of the American Board of War, which is no doubt authentic. The report is dated December 1st, 1777, and is as follows :

"The American Board of War, after conferring with

Mr. Boudinot, the commissioner-general of prisoners, and examining evidence adduced by him, reported that among other things, that there were nine hundred privates and three hundred officers of the American army prisoners in the city of New York, and about five hundred privates and fifty officers prisoners in Philadelphia.* That since the beginning of October, all these prisoners have been confined in prison-ships, or in the Provost. That from the best evidence the subject could admit of, the general allowance of prisoners, at most did not exceed four ounces of meat per day; and often so damaged as not to be eatable. That it had been a common practice with the British, on a prisoner's being first captured, to keep him three, four or five days without a morsel of meat, and then to tempt him to enlist to save his life. That there were numerous instances of prisoners of war perishing in all the agonies of hunger."

The section which immediately follows this quotation, exhibits a cheering contrast, which it were criminal to withhold, and which I insert with unfeigned pleasure:

"About this time, (December 24th, 1777,) there was a meeting of merchants in London, for the purpose of raising a sum of money to relieve the distresses of the American prisoners, then in England. The sum subscribed for that purpose amounted in two months to £4647 15s. (sterling, of course.) Thus, while human nature was dishonoured by the cruelties of some of

* This was in the winter of 1777-8, when this city was in the occupancy of the British army.

the British in America, there was a laudable display of the benevolence of others of the same nation in Europe."

It must be remembered, that what I have hitherto said about the treatment of American prisoners in this country, relates exclusively to what took place in the northern parts of the United States, and in Canada. At the South, still more deplorable scenes, if possible, were often witnessed. In these, the preponderance of barbarity was, I believe, on the side of the British; but it is undeniable that cruelties to prisoners, shocking to every virtuous feeling, were perpetrated on both sides. Of these, however, I shall give no details. But as I would not omit to notice any display of humanity in such circumstances, I will just mention, that a British Colonel by the name of Campbell, although he had himself experienced ill-treatment when a prisoner among the Americans, had the magnanimity to oppose and prevent all abuse of American prisoners, so far as his influence extended; and his influence must have been considerable, since it was he who commanded in the reduction of Savannah, the capital of Georgia. On reading over what I have written in this letter, I cannot forbear to ejaculate, "O come the happy period!—and blessed be God, it will come—when the truths of the blessed gospel, accompanied by the Spirit of all truth, shall be diffused throughout all nations, exterminating the ferocious passions of the corrupted human heart, implanting in their place all the Christian graces, and terminating for ever the horrors and the vices of war."

P——, AUGUST 27.

MY DEAR A.—It was, as well as I can recollect, in an early part of the month of December, 1777, that the various receptacles of American prisoners in New York—churches, the Provost, sugar-house, prison-ships, of which “the Jersey” was the most infamous*—disgorged their wretched contents. A large proportion of those who were released were sent into the adjacent country, to seek relief where they could find it, from the humanity of their countrymen; for there was, in the part of the country where I lived, no public hospital, or appointed place of rendezvous to which they might resort. A number of them were so debilitated by famine and disease, that they fell down and died in the streets of New York, before they could even reach the vessels appointed to transport them. When they were landed, a considerable part of them were sent forward in wagons, being unable to travel on foot. Those who were able to walk, followed the wagons; and such another company of miserable human beings—pallid, emaciated, begrimed with dirt and smoke, and in every way squalid in the extreme—my eyes never

* This vessel went by the name of the “Old Jersey.” It lay in the East River, opposite to the city of New York. Ramsay states, that it appeared on as good evidence as the case could admit, that “in the last six years of the war, eleven thousand prisoners died on board this ship.” This must have included sailors, as well as soldiers; and the former were, if possible, worse treated than the latter. In another place Ramsay says—“The filth of the places of their confinement, in consequence of fluxes that prevailed among them, was both offensive and dangerous. Seven dead bodies have been seen in one building at one time, and all lying in a situation shocking to humanity.”

beheld; for I now write of what I personally saw. Never may you, my son, nor any of your countrymen, behold a similar spectacle. Twelve of these pitiable objects were brought in a wagon and laid down at my father's door; the most of them so helpless that they could not get into the house without assistance. They were all taken in, and the whole family immediately employed in cleansing and clothing them, preparing for them suitable food, and in every way ministering to their necessities. Ten of the twelve were shortly after removed into neighbouring families, that had not in the first instance received any, or not their due proportion. I cannot pretend to state how many of those who were brought in carriages and left in my father's parish never recovered. I can only say that a number of them died.

Of the two who were left in our family, one was an athletic Irishman; the other a Marylander, of a rather delicate make. Both were in a dangerous state of fever, yet both eventually recovered. The Irishman was, for a time, in a high delirium, talking and raving like a madman. One Sabbath day, while the congregation were assembled for worship, and my father in the pulpit, this man rose from his bed, with nothing on him but his shirt and my father's wrapping gown, slipped his feet into a pair of shoes, and swore he would go out. There was no force at hand to restrain him, and out he went—a snow was on the ground, of depth sufficient to make good sleighing. He threatened vengeance to any one that should attempt to control him; and his fever gave him a strength that was formidable, although he might otherwise have been scarcely able to stand alone.

I followed behind him at a cautious distance. The church was less than a quarter of a mile distant, and he fortunately took the road that passed by its door. I slipped into the church and called out three or four stout men. But in the mean time the delirious man had picked up two large stones, and with one in each hand, he uttered horrible imprecations, and threatened death to any one that should attempt to arrest him. But while he walked on, and his attention was occupied by those in front of him, he was seized from behind, his arms held, and in this manner compelled to return to his bed. His constant cry was for cold water; and when my father (who you know was a physician as well as a clergyman) returned from church, he told the poor maniac that if he would drink a quart at a time he should have it. He pledged himself with an oath to drink that, and more too if he could get it. A bucket of water was drawn immediately from the well, and of course was not as cold as if it had stood some time in the wintry air—a quart measure was filled, the poor fellow put it to his mouth, and was as good as his word; he drank the whole before he took the vessel from his lips, and he began to recover from that time. The convalescence, however, both of him and his fellow sufferer was very gradual; so that I think it was about three months before they were able to travel. The whole family became deeply interested in these unfortunate men, and when they departed they were not sent away empty. The Irishman did not use profane language after his fever left him; but he never showed a spirit of forgiveness to those who had abused him. I asked him, a short time before he left us, how he intended to dis-

pose of himself, now that his health was restored. He said that he would go and renew his enlistment in the continental army, get the privilege of standing sentinel over some of the prisoners of Burgoyne's army confined at Lancaster, and then would treat them as they, or their comrades, had treated him. This was doubtless a very bad spirit, but it was the natural result of the cruelty he had experienced on a mind not deeply imbued with the principles of humanity or religion.

My attention to the sick prisoners, by night as well as by day, was followed by serious consequences to myself. I took the fever from them, and narrowly escaped with my life—having, by indiscretion, brought on a relapse, after nearly recovering from the first attack. While I was sick, an occurrence took place, to which I alluded in a former letter, wherein I mentioned the apprehension entertained that a party of the British light horse would be detached to seize my father and other influential whigs. That you may understand the affair now to be related, I must mention that a brother clergyman of my father, who was strongly suspected of toryism, and who lived near the British lines, had sent a locked trunk, containing no doubt some very valuable property, together with a quarter cask of wine, to be deposited with my father for safe keeping. But after these articles had remained with him for about a year, they were removed, and, as afterwards appeared, lodged with the tory who made the public confession in the church, of which I have heretofore given an account. Keeping this in recollection, my narration will be fully understood.

One night during my sickness, while I was lying on

a trundle-bed, in the room where my father and mother slept, with a blister plaster on each of my wrists, the house was suddenly surrounded by a corps of dragoons. My father was roused, went to the window, and by moonlight or starlight, saw two or three light horsemen with drawn swords, in the front yard of the house. One had dismounted, and was knocking at the door of the entry, and demanded to be let in. My father said to my mother—"I believe they have come at last." She advised him to hide himself. He replied that any such attempt would be vain, as the house was surrounded, and would doubtless be thoroughly searched. He added, "I will dress myself as fast as I can, that I may not be carried away naked." While he was dressing, the knocking at the door continued, and brought to it, on the inside, the woman who had stayed with me when the rest of the family absconded, as I heretofore stated. She was something of a heroine, and, when excited, of a virago too. In an audible voice she told the man who was knocking that she would not open the door—bade him go about his business, and called him and his comrades by as many decent hard names as she could think of. My father, as soon as dressed, went into the entry, and, I think, opened the door himself. Then began a developement which relieved us not a little. It was found that the object of this rude visit was not to seize my father, but to plunder the tory property which it was believed he had in his possession. The dragoons belonged to a corps of American cavalry, who were stationed at about seven miles distance. They demanded the property which I have above described. My father told them that

it had been removed some months since ; but remarked, that as he could not expect to be believed on his word, he would furnish them with a candle, and they might search the house till they were satisfied ; only he would request as a favour, that in making the search they would be careful not to set the house on fire. They did not search the house to much extent—I rather think not at all ; but demanded of my father that he should inform them with whom the goods in question had been deposited. He assured them (as the truth was) that he could not certainly tell ; but said that they had been taken from his house by his tenant, whose residence was at the distance of not more than two hundred yards. Thither a part of them immediately went, while the rest remained till the result of the inquiry should be known. The tenant was called up and was required to tell with whom he had left the booty of which they were in quest. He told them frankly that he had left the goods with the tory, whose house, within a mile of his own, he described in such a manner that they could not mistake it. On this, the whole party set off with all speed, surrounded the house, demanded and obtained the trunk, which they had taken so much pains to find, broke it open and began to examine it ; but before they had proceeded far, something gave them an alarm, which caused them to depart with precipitancy, without taking with them any thing of much value.

It afterwards appeared that the dragoons had made this night excursion without the knowledge of any of their officers, in hope of obtaining something of considerable value for their private emolument. Probably

the alarm which hurried them away was some occurrence which made them fear a discovery; perhaps it was the dawning of the day, showing that they would have little time enough to reach their quarters before their absence would be apparent.

I have hesitated whether I would tell you this long story, or keep it to myself—a story of facts, which issued in nothing but in frightening three families, and in showing that the discipline of the American army was at that time very imperfect. But let the story stand for what it is worth. It at least contains one of my distinct reminiscences. Adieu for the present.

P——, SEPTEMBER 12.

MY DEAR A.—Before the American revolution the whole population of our country, with a very few exceptions, had no personal acquaintance with the small pox. Vaccination, you are aware, was unknown for a long time after this period. Inoculation was in partial use. A few individuals who knew that their occupations or manner of life would peculiarly expose them to this dangerous disease, resorted to some sequestered place, and were there inoculated. Whether it was in this, or in what is called “the natural way,” that General Washington had passed through the small pox in early life, I have never heard. It certainly had left traces of its effects on his countenance. But it was a fortunate circumstance that in whatever way communicated, he had had it, and was of course free from all danger of its contagion. To this danger, however, it is probable that more than nine-tenths of his army, officers as well as common soldiers, were exposed; and

by some means or other, this fearful malady had been introduced among them, and had made a number of victims. The temper of the times disposed our countrymen to charge this, and almost every disastrous occurrence which befel them, to the wicked devices of their British enemies. But I believe the charge, in this instance, had no foundation in truth. It has never been proved, nor, as far I know, rendered probable; and therefore the cruelty and baseness of such an act as sending with design an infectious and fatal disease into the American camp, ought not to be imputed to them.

After the battle of Princeton, General Washington retired, in the month of January, 1777, to winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey; and he there formed a plan for subjecting his whole army to the process of inoculation. The plan was, to quarter his troops in small companies in the families of the inhabitants, and to direct the military surgeons to inoculate the families, as well as the soldiers, and to afford gratuitously to the former, the same medical aid and attention which were to be shown to the latter. This plan, at first, produced a great alarm among the inhabitants. My father, I well remember, went in a sleigh to Morristown, accompanied by some of the most respectable men of his congregation, to confer with General Washington on the subject. On his return, my father told us that he had been the spokesman, and that he had stated to the General, that he well knew that in military operations it was not unusual to make a *certain* sacrifice of a number of lives, to ensure the success of a battle, or for the general good of the com-

munity; and that if such was the case in the present instance, he and his friends were prepared to submit, without murmuring, to their destiny; but that they would entreat him to consider, whether it was not practicable to separate the army, for the purpose of inoculation, from the mass of the population, so as not to subject the whole to the contemplated calamity. The General said to them in reply, that their apprehensions, he was confident, were altogether groundless; that the inhabitants would find, in the event, that the proposed measure was no calamity at all, but on the contrary a very favourable occurrence; that they would all be carried through the small pox without charge, and with very little danger—the surgeons of the army affording them the exercise of their best skill and attention, as an acknowledgment for their furnishing quarters to the troops, who would be served with their rations at every house in which they were accommodated. On the other hand, that if an attempt were made to separate the soldiers from the mass of the inhabitants, it would be impossible to make the separation so perfect as to prevent all intercourse; and that the result in all probability would be, that the natural small pox would be spread through the whole population, producing effects infinitely more to be dreaded, than if all should be inoculated at once. There was no resisting such reasoning as this. My father and his friends came back perfectly reconciled to the measure.

Our family consisted of nine individuals, of whom my father, on the verge of his sixtieth year, and my mother, a little younger, formed a part of the number. Ten officers, if I rightly recollect, with two waiters,

had quarters with us; the house being equally divided between them and the family. The kitchen was common for the use of both parties. One of the waiters, an Irishman, carried in his face a very legible receipt in full, for a heavy debt which the natural small pox had in former years imposed on him. All the rest that I have mentioned, were inoculated at one and the same time, by Dr. Bond of Philadelphia, then a surgeon of some eminence of rank in the army. Dr. Cochran, of Brunswick, New Jersey, was associated with Bond, and visited us while we were under inoculation treatment. That treatment consisted of a regimen of vegetable diet—animal food and all salt and spice of every kind were strictly prohibited. As to medicine, it consisted of five or six powders, composed of a small quantity of calomel, mingled, if I mistake not, with nitre—a powder to be taken perhaps every other day; and two cathartics, one about a week after inoculation, and the other at the period when the eruption of the pock was to be expected. We were enjoined to keep cool, and to avoid violent exercise. This was the amount of the prescriptions of our medical advisers; and I believe we were nearly all of the opinion—I certainly was—that our regimen was, by far, the most objectionable part of the whole concern.

It was remarkable that in our whole family there was not a single pock that filled. On about the thirteenth or fourteenth day after inoculation, some of us felt a chilly sensation, followed by a quickening of the pulse, for perhaps a day and a night; and there were on some of us a few red spots, but not one of them ripened into a suppurating pock. My elder brother

and myself seemed to think it would not do to have the small pox without any sickness at all, and so we concluded to lie in bed one morning, about the time when the eruptive fever usually takes place. Dr. Cochran caught us in this indulgence, and sent us the following message—"Tell those young rogues, from me, to get up immediately. Tell them I would rather see them up to the waistband of their breeches in a snow bank, than that they should be lying in bed at this time of day." The most troublesome symptom we experienced was the sore which was formed on the arm at the place where the virus had been introduced by the puncture of a lancet. Many of these sores continued to discharge pus for two or three months, and in some instances were large and in a degree painful. Yet none of them proved dangerous.

Our military inmates were not quite as much favoured as ourselves. Some of them had several pocks that filled, yet in no case were they numerous, or preceded or followed by any threatening symptoms. Nor was this the case in our family only. The whole army had the disease so lightly, that I really believe there was not a day while they were under inoculation, in which they might not, with a few exceptions, have marched against the enemy, and would actually have done so if necessity had required it. For a short time my father's church was made a hospital for the reception of those on whom the natural small pox had appeared before they could be inoculated; and more frightful and pitiable human beings I have never seen. The heads of some of them were swelled to nearly double their natural size, their eyes were closed, and

their faces were black as a coal. The most of these died.

All the officers who were quartered in my father's family were Virginians, and they were the most shockingly profane in their common conversation of any men I have ever known. Their language, at times, was absolutely horrifying to any ear not accustomed to blasphemy. How does it happen that soldiers and sailors, who hold life by a more precarious tenure than common, are so frequently remarkable for their profanity? Is it that they are so often called to brave danger that they at length lose all sense of the danger of offending their Maker? I remember that General Washington once rebuked this abominable vice in the officers of his army, by reprehending it in his general orders. It was certainly natural and proper for the officers resident in our dwelling, to seek to relieve the tedium of their situation while under treatment for the small pox. My father had a good library for a country clergyman, containing several works of taste and literature, as well as treatises of theology, and I am sure any officer with us would have been welcome to the perusal of any volume of the library that he might have been disposed to name. But no request of this kind, so far as I remember, was ever made; and indeed I do not recollect to have seen a book of any kind in the hand of any officer in the whole period of about two months, during which they had their dwelling with us. On one or two occasions they amused themselves by firing at a mark with a rifle; but playing at cards was their standing amusement, or rather their employment, both by day and by night. Yet I am not

aware that they played for money—if they did, their stakes must have been small, for of money they, in common with all the officers of the army at that time, could have had very little. Such was their devotion to cards, that when one of their number died—not of the small pox, but of a fever otherwise induced—it was with difficulty they could be restrained from playing while the corpse was yet in the house. The defunct was a cornet of dragoons, and the captain of the company to which he belonged had to threaten to make the offence personal to himself, before he was able to prevent card playing till the corpse was removed. But I am sick of this topic, and will drop it here.

When Dr. Ramsay published his "History of the American Revolution," he requested me to inspect the copy in manuscript, and to revise the proof sheets as they came from the press. I did so, and was surprised to find that in his whole work he had not even mentioned the inoculation of the army for the small pox, of which I have spoken in this letter. When I informed him of the omission, he expressed his surprise that so important an event should have escaped him in collecting his materials, and he immediately penned the account of it which now appears in his first volume. That account was taken from a statement which I made to him, but it is not as full as that which I have now given. The imperfections of history, my son, are far greater and more numerous than are commonly imagined.

When the troops were removed from the neighbourhood of our family, the adjacent country, in which none had been quartered, experienced the truth of

General Washington's remark to my father, that it is not possible, except by inoculation, to prevent the spreading of the small pox in the natural way, when brought into the near vicinity of those who have not had the disease. It did spread, and compelled the people to a general resort to inoculation. This produced a busy life to my father. I had, before this, begun to act as his apprentice, and I now was almost wholly occupied in putting up medicine, performing the operation of inoculating, and visiting patients. But enough of this whole subject. Adieu.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE YEAR 1778 TO 1782.

JANUARY 15, 1841.

MY DEAR A.—In my sixth letter, I mentioned that the training of boys in the early days of our national revolution, made them familiar with military evolutions, and thus prepared them to take their standing, with much advantage, in the legal militia, when they completed the sixteenth year of their age. But it did more than this—it made them look forward to that period with great, and even impatient desire. For myself, I think I can say with truth that I longed for the time to arrive when I should be enrolled in the adult militia, in much the same manner as an apprentice commonly wishes for the time when he shall be free from the control of a master, and be at full liberty to act for himself. But hold a little: as it is my purpose in this letter to give you some account of my *militia* campaigns—for I was never any thing more than a militia soldier—I wish you to understand that any thing I shall say that may seem to be descriptive of heroism, was by no means peculiar to myself. It must be considered only as a sample of the courage and zeal of those with whom I acted in the defence of our common country. But for this, indeed, I should think it improper to spend my time in narrating personal concerns of such small importance as those I am about to detail.

But it is not unimportant to know what may be called the *domestic military spirit* of our revolutionary times.

As the anxiously expected period drew near when I was to exchange my wooden gun for a fire-lock, all my soldierly equipments were carefully prepared and in perfect readiness for active use, as soon as the next alarm gun should be fired.* It was fired a few days before my sixteenth year was completed, and my impatience could no longer brook delay. I harnessed myself in my knapsack, and with my blanket and cartridge box, and musket on my shoulder, I hastened to the place of rendezvous. There I learned that from some cause, which I do not now recollect, the call of the militia was premature, and I returned home fatigued and disappointed. It was not long, however, before a

* The alarm gun, an iron eighteen pounder, was placed on the highest point of what are called the Short Hills, in the neighbourhood of Springfield, N. J. Bishop Hobart, after the war, purchased the site and made it his country residence. A lofty pole was placed by the side of the cannon, with a tar barrel on the top, which was set on fire when the gun was discharged. The report of the gun and the flame of the tar barrel were heard and seen to a great distance in the surrounding country. The militia companies had each its place of rendezvous, to which they hastened as soon as the alarm was given. The Short Hills were a kind of natural barrier for the camp and military stores at Morristown. A hundred men might have defended some of the passes over these hills against a thousand. A British detachment once reached Springfield and burnt it; but no British corps ever ventured into the Sand Hills. In a clear day, with a good telescope, the city of New York may be seen from these heights. When encamped at Morristown, General Washington occasionally rode to these hills to make his observations. The first time I ever saw him was on one of these occasions. He was accompanied by the Marquis de la Fayette, as he was then called, and who looked like a mere boy.

considerable detachment of the militia of that part of the State in which I resided, was called to march to the Minisink, a place on the north-west border of the State, on the Delaware river, the inhabitants of which, after the massacre of Wyoming, if I rightly recollect, were supposed to be in danger of an attack from the Indians. In this expedition I had the honour to act as an orderly sergeant, which was the highest military elevation that I ever reached. We made a rapid march to the Minisink settlement, and continued in service there about a fortnight, keeping guard along the river. As we saw no Indians to shoot at, a company, of which I was one, determined on killing the deer of the forest, if we could find them. For this purpose we crossed the river, and spent a day of fatigue and hunger in hunting for our game. But the deer, as well as the Indians, did not choose to expose themselves to our martial prowess. We did not even get the sight of one of them; and I believe the greatest danger experienced by any one in the whole expedition, was in crossing and re-crossing the Delaware in an Indian canoe, which none of us knew how to manage skilfully, and which was several times very near being upset.

A very brave man, as he afterwards proved himself to be, who could not swim, was dreadfully frightened in passing this stream. Men of martial bravery often show cowardice, when certain death stares them in the face. But we all escaped without injury, were soon discharged, and on returning home I walked six and thirty miles in one day, carrying all my military equipment. Our detachment on this occasion, as well as on

one that soon followed it, was commanded by a militia general by the name of Wines. He had seen military service, as the major of a regiment in the Northern army, under the lamented Montgomery. He was of gigantic frame and strength, and no one doubted his courage. But the most remarkable thing about him was his voice. It exceeded in power and efficiency—for it was articulate as well as loud—every other human voice that I ever heard. Among other anecdotes that are told of him, this is one. He met a strong foraging party of British troops in the winter during which New Brunswick, in New Jersey, was their head quarters. He came in sight of this party suddenly, as it was approaching a hill, of which he had just taken possession with a far inferior force to that of his enemy. He made the best display of his troops that he could, and before the British came within musket shot, he thundered out at the top of his voice—"Open to the right and left, and let the field pieces come in." The British were without field pieces as well as himself, but expecting a deadly fire from the American artillery, they faced to the right about and hastily retreated. I believe the anecdote has a foundation in truth, as I heard it from different quarters; and if it is not true to the letter, it certainly lacks no credibility so far as our General's voice was concerned.

It was not long after our return from Minisink, before we were called to a more serious military service than any I had hitherto seen—General Wines being still our commander. The British in New York city had erected a small fort a short distance from the Hack-

ensack river, and sent a number of boats or shallops up that river to collect the hay which had recently been cut and stacked on the meadows where it grew. To afford protection to the boats, a frigate was also sent up the Hackensack as far as the depth of the water would permit. Our head quarters were at Aquackanoek bridge, on the Passaic, about ten miles above Newark. Finding that the British did not advance into the country, as had been expected, our General determined to march his troops within cannon shot of their fort, and offer them battle. He did so; and on our march, and not far from the fort, he espied across a field of considerable width, a number of women very attentively observing our movements. He raised his stentorophonic voice, and addressed them thus, "Your are counting us, are you? that you may know our numbers and go and tell the British." He then added something which I do not choose to repeat. The poor women vanished like so many frightened ghosts, and we presently came within cannon shot of the fort. To assure us of this, a cannon ball came over us, a little above our heads, with that screaming and whizzing kind of noise, which it always makes, as it passes through and seems to torture the air. This was the first time I had ever heard this kind of noise; and truly I could not say, as we are told was said by Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, on a similar occasion, "*That* is the most pleasant music I have ever heard." We were now on a hill, the fort on another, and a ravine was between us—the ravine crossing the road which led to the fort nearly at right angles. General Wines, taking care that the enemy should not see his operations, placed about one-third of

his force, among whom I was numbered, in the ravine, which was filled with trees and brushwood—our location being a little to the left of the road, through which, if the enemy advanced, they must necessarily pass. He directed us to keep ourselves closely concealed, till the whole of the British troops had passed us, and were engaged with the corps he commanded in person; then to rush out and attack their rear with our utmost vigour. We laid snug in our ambush for more than an hour; when the man who had been so much frightened in crossing the Delaware river on our hunting excursion, became impatient of further delay, took his musket in his hand, advanced into the open field before the fort, within calling distance, and challenged them to come out. It was a daring act, and I greatly feared at the time, that it would cost him his life; but he came back without injury. The enemy probably had not a larger force than was barely sufficient to man the fort, and we could not provoke them to leave it. Having waited long enough to ascertain this fact, we marched back for a mile or two, then turned from the road into a piece of rising ground, and encamped for the night. On this occasion, I passed about eighteen hours without eating any thing but an apple and a small piece of ship bread which the worms had left. We passed the night wrapped in our blankets, with a few cornstalks for a bed, by those who could get them. The next morning we drew our rations of flour and fresh beef; but while we were baking our unfermented dough on hot stones, and were preparing sticks to hold our meat in the flame of a brushwood fire, which was all the roasting we could give it, intelligence was received that the enemy

was marching in force, to cut off our retreat by getting between us and the bridge. We were ordered under arms with all possible haste, and famished as we were, we left our unbaked cakes and undressed meat, and made a forced and rapid march, with a view to reach the bridge before the enemy. It proved to be a false alarm; which, however, was not ascertained till we were within about two miles of the bridge; when we halted, and were permitted to sit down for a few minutes. It is impossible for me fully to describe my feelings, as I sat on the ground at this time. The excitement which had kept up my spirits was over. I was exhausted with hunger, want of rest, and a hasty march, and was seized with a kind of apathy, or stupor, which rendered me indifferent to every thing—careless even, whether I lived or died. Happily, this wretched feeling did not last long; but I can never forget it, and have often called it to mind, with, I hope, some gratitude to God that it was of short duration; as well as for his providential and paternal care of me in all the perils to which I was exposed in this period of my life. We soon reached our quarters, and one of the sweetest morsels that I ever tasted, was a piece of raw pickled pork, with which we were immediately served. Till this expedition, I had been a very squeamish lad, in regard to my diet; but the occurrences now stated cured me effectually.

Adieu for the present.

P——, FEBRUARY 8, 1841.

MY DEAR A.—After our expedition to the fort, as mentioned in my last letter, we spent several idle days

in our quarters; and in the mean time learned that the British boats were descending the Hackensack river, loaded with hay. Captain Outwater, an enterprising officer, probably with the approbation of our General, determined, if possible, to cut off and capture some of them before they should get under cover of the guns of the frigate, which had been sent to protect them. He beat up for volunteers, and about thirty, of whom I was one, put ourselves under his command, to go on this expedition. The plan was to go and return on the same day, which, by rapid movements, was understood to be practicable. We accordingly took an early breakfast, and with all speed marched for the Hackensack. We stopped at a house, near the meadows which adjoined the river, for the purpose both of obtaining information and getting refreshment. Both were afforded us; and a vile fellow of our company repaid the hospitality we received, by stealing some articles of ornament from the females of the family. Before we left the house, however, he was detected, and compelled to restore his pillage to its proper owners. We learned from this family, that a number of boats had already proceeded down the stream, and that others were then in the act of passing. We therefore hastened our departure, and as we were going over the meadow, we had the mortification to see one boat after another reach the protecting frigate. We were unavoidably delayed by a deep inlet from the river, which could not be passed except on a log, or rather a large pole, which had been thrown over it, and which was partly under water. About a third part of our number would not risk the danger of crossing this inlet, and we left them

there. As soon as some twenty of us were over, we saw a lagging boat, the last of the thieving squadron, beating down the stream against a head wind. We hurried forward, and took a position which proved to be within reach of the frigate's cannon.

The margin of the river was lined by a high and thick sedge, which completely concealed us; and thus stationed, we waited for the boat to come opposite to the place where we stood; and as it did so, we all fired at once. The fire was returned, and although we were much concealed, our enemies' bullets, by the impression they made on the sedge, showed that some of us escaped them very narrowly. It was not long, however, before we completely silenced the fire from the boat, and all on board took refuge, either in her hold, or behind the hay with which she was loaded—not a man remained visible. But the boat was on the wrong tack for us when all her hands were driven from their quarters. She drifted to the opposite shore, and there safely grounded. We had no means of crossing the stream, although not more than about a hundred yards wide; and thus, after all our efforts, we could capture neither the boat nor her crew. While what I have mentioned was going on, the artillery of the frigate was not unemployed. The fire of our musketry and that from the boat was heard, and though the sedge concealed us, our location was perceived by the flashes of our guns. A cannon shot or two was directed to our *whereabout*; and as our expected prey was hopelessly beyond our reach, we took shelter behind a large hay stack, a short distance from the river. With the help of his men, the captain ascended the stack to make his observations.

The occupants of the boat, finding that our fire had ceased, and presuming, as the fact was, that we had left the sedge, came out of their hiding places, and some of them climbed up the mast of the boat, so that they could at least see our captain, and in a loud voice reviled us as a set of rascally rebels. The captain was also seen from the frigate, and a cannon shot was directed at him with great precision. Happily he saw the flash, and leaped from the stack before the ball passed over it and entered the marsh at a short distance from us, sending a cloud of mud and stubble into the air. "I think," said the captain, "that you might now get a good shot at those blackguards in the boat. Who of you will try?" "I will," was my immediate answer. But what was my disappointment when I found that not another individual of the company would consent to go, except the thief, who had stolen the female ornaments, and who wished to redeem his character. I scorned to go in his company, but my pride would not permit me to retract my offer. I asked for the best gun in the company, as I did not think my own was good at a long shot. Enough were offered, but I chose an old hunter's gun, with a long barrel; and seeing that it was well charged, took my solitary way to the river's side. The thief, I found afterwards, followed me. The plan I formed was, to creep into the sedge, sit on the ground, take good aim with my piece rested on my bended knee, and the moment after I had fired, to fall backward, and lie as close to the ground as possible; that if my fire should be returned, the bullets might pass above me. This plan I executed fully; but I ought to mention, that the men in the boat had again

disappeared ; so that I could only fire at that part of the boat, or rather at the hay on its deck, behind which I thought it most likely they were skulking. This I did, with as much skill and exactness as I was master of ; but there is little probability that I injured any one. I do not recollect whether my fire was returned or not. But I lay still for some time, till I supposed the enemy would conclude I was gone, and then crept out of the sedge, and took refuge behind a haystack, nearer to the river than the one which sheltered my companions. While here, the thief came to me, terrified almost out of his life, and entirely out of his senses. I asked him if he had fired—he said he had not. “ And why not ? ” said I. He said he could not see the men in the boat ; and began to load his piece with another cartridge. I asked him why he would do that, when there was a charge already in his gun. He looked wild, and said he believed he would ram it down. He did so, and this musket, thus containing two cartridges, was discharged in the midst of us, as we were returning from the meadow, and it was a signal providential mercy that none of us were either killed or wounded. He had cocked his piece when he went to the river, and forgotten to uncock it afterwards, but was holding it before him with both his hands, when probably a stroke on his knee sprung the lock, and the discharge threw the gun out of his hands to a considerable distance. Our captain was angry enough to have sacrificed him on the spot ; but he was left eventually without injury, in possession of his character as a thief, a coward, and a blockhead. In telling this thief story, it is of course implied that I joined my companions, and that we

marched for our quarters. We reached them in safety in the evening.

I must not close this letter without telling you the view which, in my serious moments, I have frequently taken of my volunteering an attempt to take the life of an individual, on board the depredating boat that has been described. Never, for a moment, have I doubted the lawfulness of defensive war; and if ever there was a purely defensive war, that of our revolution, in my deliberate judgment, possessed this character. But war, as well as peace, has its laws; and all the best writers on the subject are agreed, that any act or operation not calculated to shorten the conflict, is unjustifiable; hence, border plundering has always been severely condemned. Now, as the boat in question was completely out of our power, and the destroying of an individual could have produced no sensible influence in shortening the war of our revolution, I think that Captain Outwater did wrong in inviting his men to do what I did; and that the part I acted, was rash, foolish and criminal—calling for regret and repentance, which I trust I have felt and exercised; and that for this, as well as my other transgressions, I have obtained the divine forgiveness. Affectionately, adieu.

P——, FEBRUARY 15, 1841.

MY DEAR A.—In a few days after the adventure mentioned in my last letter, the militia corps to which I belonged, was disbanded at the Aquackanok bridge, and every man sought his home by the shortest route he could find.

I ought to tell you that my father, with a view of

keeping me from mingling too much in military affairs, devised a plan for the purpose, which was partially successful. There was a law of the state of New Jersey which excused every teacher of a school of fifteen scholars from all military duty; and by the way, it shows how careful our revolutionary patriots were to provide for the instruction of the rising generation, even amidst the dangers and turmoil of the pending conflict. By the direction of my father, in the seventeenth year of my age, I first taught an English, and afterwards a classical school, consisting of more than the legal number of scholars requisite to free me from the demands of military service. I refused, however, to avail myself of the law, farther than to claim an exemption from the ordinary militia trainings; which I did not need, as I had, in the manner heretofore stated, made myself perfect in the manual exercise and the common evolutions of a militia company. I still kept my soldierly equipments in constant preparation for actual hostility, and whenever an alarm occurred, I immediately dismissed my school and repaired to the place of rendezvous.

In the month of June, 1780, a detachment of the British army from New York, of five thousand men, as Ramsay states in his history, under the command of Lieutenant General Kniphausen, made an incursion into the state of New Jersey, and proceeded as far as Connecticut Farms, in the county of Essex. They burned in this place, the Presbyterian church and twelve dwelling houses. Here also, and at this time, was perpetrated the tragical death of the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell, who had rendered himself pecu-

one that soon followed it, was commanded by a militia general by the name of Wines. He had seen military service, as the major of a regiment in the Northern army, under the lamented Montgomery. He was of gigantic frame and strength, and no one doubted his courage. But the most remarkable thing about him was his voice. It exceeded in power and efficiency—for it was articulate as well as loud—every other human voice that I ever heard. Among other anecdotes that are told of him, this is one. He met a strong foraging party of British troops in the winter during which New Brunswick, in New Jersey, was their head quarters. He came in sight of this party suddenly, as it was approaching a hill, of which he had just taken possession with a far inferior force to that of his enemy. He made the best display of his troops that he could, and before the British came within musket shot, he thundered out at the top of his voice—"Open to the right and left, and let the field pieces come in." The British were without field pieces as well as himself, but expecting a deadly fire from the American artillery, they faced to the right about and hastily retreated. I believe the anecdote has a foundation in truth, as I heard it from different quarters; and if it is not true to the letter, it certainly lacks no credibility so far as our General's voice was concerned.

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discharged, they would rake the defile from one end to the other. It was the intention of General Washington to draw, if possible, the British troops into this defile, whether their advance should be made by day or by night—the latter being deemed the most probable. To effect his purpose, he used an artifice, which I shall relate as I heard it, and which I suppose was substantially true. He inquired for an intelligent, decided, and courageous whig—and found one in the person of a farmer belonging to the neighbourhood, and asked him to go as a spy into the British camp. The farmer said he was prepared to serve his country in any way that he could, but that he scrupled to assume the character of a spy, because he knew that, if discovered, he would be immediately hanged. You will be entirely secure against detection, said Washington, if you tell exactly and truly all that you know, excepting only that I sent you. Go, and take a survey of our position, and when you are questioned by General Knipphausen, tell promptly all that you know, and you will be in no danger of a halter, or even of suspicion. The farmer went, and the report which we afterwards heard was, that the enemy were actually under arms to make the attack that night, and were prevented only by an accident—perhaps by a shower of rain; but of this I am not certain, as I do not remember that it rained during the following night.

The next morning, however, the enemy instead of advancing, retired to their fortifications at Elizabethtown Point; and it was reported and believed that the whole of them passed over to Staten Island, except about five hundred men, who were left for the defence

and care of their entrenchments. On the retreat of the British troops, General Washington with the larger part of his army, marched for West Point, leaving General Hand with a brigade of continental troops of the Pennsylvania line, and two brigades of militia, to check any future incursion of the Hessian and British forces into New Jersey.

In the confident belief that there were not more than five hundred men left in the British lines at Elizabethtown Point, General Lord Stirling, who it was understood by us had the chief command, was reported to have said to General Hand, "Take your brigade, Hand, and the two brigades of militia, and go down and bring up those fellows at the Point." Hand was nothing loth to attempt the execution of this order, for he was a brave, enterprising, and skilful commander. He appointed Elizabethtown, about two and a half miles from the Point, as the place of general rendezvous. When arrived there, his arrangement for the contemplated attack was, that the continental troops commanded by himself in person, should occupy the centre, and that one brigade of the militia should take position on his right, and the other on his left; but that we should march in separate columns, so as to assault the enemy's breast works in three different points at the same time. This time was distinctly specified, a space deemed sufficient for the purpose, being allowed for the columns severally to gain the stations assigned them. The brigade, or column, in which I found myself, was on the left; and we were delayed a little on our march by fences and ditches which obstructed our field pieces. The consequence was, that the other brigades reached

their assigned positions just as we were entering a piece of meadow ground; beyond which was a wood, from which we were to make our attack on the enemy's line, that ran very near it. At this moment the British opened their fire upon us. The wood we were to occupy prevented our being aimed at by their artillery directly in our front, but the far larger part of their works had nothing to obstruct the cannon balls and grape shot which from right to left they poured forth, and which swept over us, as we were passing the meadow, like a storm of hail. It was a special mercy that they overshot us, otherwise the carnage must have been horrible. The ground trembled under us at every step, and I have frequently said that no thunder storm I have ever witnessed, either in loudness of sound or the shaking of the earth, equalled what I saw and felt in crossing that meadow, which was of the width probably of four or five hundred yards. When we reached the wood, we were in some measure shielded against danger from the enemy's cannon; which, however, continued to be discharged into the wood which sheltered us. From some cause or other, through the whole of this engagement, their pieces of ordnance were, in general, aimed too high to do execution. Their balls struck the trees among which we were standing, some yards above our heads; and I heard of a man or two being either killed, or dangerously wounded, by the falling of some of these balls on their heads from the trees which had arrested their course.

Our brigade was preceded by an advance corps, which had captured a picket guard of the enemy, by getting between them and their fortifications; and just

as we arrived at the wood the prisoners were seen, with their red coats checkering among the trees and coming toward us. The militia, taking them to be the hostile British soldiery, and not being accustomed to wait for any word of command, began to fire upon them at hazard, while their own officers were in their front. Our Colonel, who was a very brave, but a very profane man, rode forward and backward before his regiment, and in a loud voice swore tremendously that he would sacrifice the very first man that should fire another gun till he gave the order. It may be worth while to contrast the conduct of this Colonel with that of the Captain of the company in which I was enrolled. He was a deacon in my father's congregation, and a man of distinguished piety. He stood before his company with the greatest calmness and composure, scarcely spoke at all, unless it was to drop now and then a word of encouragement to his men, while we were waiting for orders to advance to the assault of the British entrenchments. But such orders never came.

General Hand perceived from the first fire of the enemy, that their force was far superior to his own, and that his only resource was to draw off his men in such manner as to favour the impression that his whole design was to make a feint, which might provoke them to leave their fortified lines. He accordingly sent his two aids, one to the right and the other to the left, with orders to the militia brigades to retire; not precipitately, but as if they were only executing a manœuvre. The plan succeeded, and we returned to Elizabethtown without being pursued by the enemy.

On this occasion, while our rashness exposed, it also saved us. Our whole force, militia included, did not, I think, exceed fifteen hundred men; that of the enemy about the double of the same number, and all veterans, trained to arms. Had they advanced, they would in all probability have killed many of us, captured others, and dispersed the whole. But they concluded, as it was natural they should, that our object was to induce them to leave their fortified camp; and that if they did so, they would find that we were backed by a formidable army in our rear, with which they would not be able to cope.

The narrative I have given you in this letter, relates to the most serious occurrences of my military life, as to personal danger; and perhaps you will wish to know how I felt when we were under the fire of the whole British entrenchments. Bad enough I assure you, while we were crossing the meadow, but entirely fearless afterwards—occupied only in thinking of the expected orders to put myself in greater danger than that which I had passed through. God, I trust, had designs of mercy concerning me, and he protected me. One of my classmates in college received a wound in the attack I have described, the evidence of which, although not painful, was always visible. I returned to my school, but had scarcely collected my scholars, when another alarm called me to leave it. The account of this will be the subject of my next letter, and will close the history of my campaigns, which I certainly shall be glad to finish.

Affectionately, adieu.

P——, FEBRUARY 22, 1841.

MY DEAR A.—Ramsay's history gives an account of the expedition of Kniphausen, which formed the subject of my last letter; but it contains not a word relative to the attack made on the British lines at Elizabethtown Point. Two causes may be assigned for this omission—the first is, that the history purports to be only a summary of the principal events or transactions of our revolutionary war; the other is, that its author was not so well informed of the military operations in the northern, as in the southern States, in the latter of which he had his residence. I had occasion, in a former letter, to mention his entire ignorance of the inoculation for the small pox of the whole American army, till I gave him the information which he has briefly embodied in his work. Of the second incursion of Kniphausen, he has given the following account: "While the royal detachment was in Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton returned, with his victorious army, from Charleston to New York. He ordered a reinforcement to Kniphausen; and the whole advanced a second time toward Springfield. They were now opposed by General Greene, with a considerable body of continental troops. Colonel Angel, with his regiment and a piece of artillery, was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. A severe action took place, which lasted forty minutes. Superior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took post with his troops on a range of hills, in hopes of being attacked. Instead of this, the British began to burn the town. Near fifty dwelling houses were reduced to ashes. The British then retreated, but were pursued

by the enraged militia till they entered Elizabethtown. The next day they set out on their return to New York. The loss of the Americans in the action was about eighty, and that of the British was supposed to be considerably more. It is difficult to tell what was the object of this expedition." The historian follows the last quoted sentence with several conjectures, which I think he would not have formed, if he had been acquainted with what I have always understood to have been the design of the British, in the expeditions in question. It was to deceive General Washington, with an apparent intention to seize or destroy his military stores, and to break up his quarters at Morristown; and thus to induce him to concentrate his force at that point—and when that was effected, they hoped to execute their main design, which was, to avail themselves of their command of the Hudson river below West Point, make a rapid movement for the capture of the fort located there, before the main American army could come to its defence, and thus cut off the communication between the eastern, middle and southern States—but that General Washington penetrated and defeated the whole project. This account of the matter is manifestly favoured by the movements of the American army in June, 1780. If my impression is right, a part of the army was sent to West Point before Kniphausen's first incursion, and a still larger part, commanded by General Washington in person, were marching for that station, at the very time the "severe action" at Springfield took place. I will now state my reminiscences of this whole affair, for Ramsay's account is very brief and general.

I think I once pointed out to you as we were going on a visit to the place of my nativity, the position of the British troops, as they approached the bridge mentioned above. They marched in solid column down the road, which you may remember has, for about half a mile, a gentle slope, till it reaches the bridge. At this bridge, on the side adjoining the town, Colonel Angel's regiment of continental troops were stationed. The planks of the bridge had been removed, but the beams which had supported them, remained. The Americans had but a single fieldpiece, which was planted on a piece of rising ground in their rear, and which made great havoc among the ranks of the enemy, before they came within musket shot of the bridge. If, indeed, the invaders had been intentionally placed in a position most favourable to be cut in pieces by cannon shot, it could scarcely have been done more skilfully, than what actually took place on this occasion. The consequence was, that with all their discipline, they broke and rallied three times; and when at last a part of them reached the bridge, they found it necessary to break their ranks, and attempt to cross, a few at a time, on the naked beams. Those that crossed were either killed or driven back; and then a plan of attack was formed, which it would have been wise if it had been adopted at first. The whole British corps marched down the creek about two miles, to a place where it was easily fordable, and came round on the flank of Angel's regiment, which retreated on its approach. As soon as the British obtained possession of the town, they set it on fire, reserving only a house or two for the

accommodation of their wounded men. The Presbyterian church was burned with the other buildings.

Of what I have hitherto written, I was not an eye witness. My statement rests on satisfactory evidence, received at the time, from those who were eye witnesses. The march of Knipphausen's detachment from his fortified camp at Elizabethtown Point, was so rapid, that the militia of Morris county, although there was no loitering, did not arrive even in sight of the scene of conflict, till the most serious part of it was over. The road on which we hastily pursued our march, was in several places literally sprinkled with the blood of our wounded countrymen, as they were carried to a distance from the battle ground; for the impression was, that Morristown was the ultimate object of this invasion. The militia brigade in which I had my location, was ordered to take a position to the left of the still burning village, about half a mile distant from it, on elevated ground, at the foot of a mountain. On our passage to it I saw, at no great distance, my father on horse-back—his curiosity, for once, had led him to be the spectator of a battle. We found on the ground where we halted, a number of the inhabitants of Springfield, who had left their houses on the approach of the British troops, and who now beheld their dwellings either in flames or in smouldering ruins. Their distress, mingled with indignation, was apparent in their countenances; and some of them seemed to require restraint, to prevent the loss of their lives, in a vain attempt to be revenged on their depredating foes. After the burning of the town, the enemy, who were fully in our view, appeared to be taking a resting spell,

and a party of them seemed to be recreating themselves, in a piece of meadow ground, near to their main body. A fieldpiece from our brigade, under cover of some bushes in our front, was advanced a considerable distance toward them, and the first discharge, which appeared to be well aimed, put an end to their amusement; they scattered hastily, and none were afterwards seen in the meadow.

But it was not long before the whole corps commenced a precipitate retreat. The cause of this was mysterious to us at the time, but the mystery was soon explained. General Washington had arrived at Pompton, with the main body of his army, on his route to West Point, when intelligence reached him of the second expedition of Knipphausen. He immediately took the command, in person, of two brigades of light infantry, and endeavoured by a forced march to get into the rear of Knipphausen, and prevent his return to New York; and he would have effected his purpose, if the retreat had been delayed for two hours longer. But Knipphausen became apprised of his danger, probably by tory information, and with all speed hastened to his fortified lines, and on the following night passed over to Staten Island. On his retreat, he was pursued both by the continental troops who had opposed his advance, and by a part of the militia; and his loss was considerable, as his haste to prevent being intercepted permitted him to make but little resistance.

At the time of this invasion, I was in the habit of keeping a diary; a part of it has been lost, but in the first page of what remains, I find the following entries: "June 23d, 1780. Alarm—marched to Chatham, from

thence to the left of Springfield. The enemy, after a pretty severe skirmish, had gained the town, which they soon burned. They then made a most precipitate retreat to Elizabethtown. A party of militia and a detachment of continental troops followed them upon their rear, and did considerable execution. The enemy left the Jersey shore, and retreated to Staten Island in the night. Had not an opportunity of firing a shot at one of them, in this incursion, owing, as I humbly conceive, to the cowardice of a certain Brigadier General who commanded us. Returned to a house about two miles from the Governor's—staid all night and lay upon arms. 24th. Returned to H——, almost fatigued to death." Thus speaks my diary. It shows with what readiness militia men were then accustomed to pass sentence on their officers, as cowardly or courageous. I think it right to say, however, that the General who commanded us at this time, was not my old friend Wines; and also, that I now think it probable that it was prudence, and not cowardice, in him who did command, which kept me and other heady youth from rash and improper action. The entry in my diary is very meager; I much wish that fatigue, or something else, had not prevented the statement of more particulars, especially of what I saw on the battle ground, the day after what I have so lightly called a skirmish, and which to this hour is vividly impressed on my memory. My route homeward led me over the whole of this ground, and for the first, and I hope for the last time of my life, I saw the yet unburied corpses of the victims of war. Two or three of these corpses, stripped as naked as when they were born, lay at the bridge which

the British attempted to force, and on the side adjoining the town. If they had been Americans, I think their countrymen would not have stripped them; and, for the like reason, if they had once been British or Hessian soldiers, their comrades, in their hasty retreat, would probably not have denuded them. I thought, as I stood to look at them, and still think, that they had been daring and determined soldiers of the British army, who had run across the beams of the bridge, and met instant death as soon as they reached the opposite side. One of these victims appeared to have received but one wound, and that through his chest, manifestly inflicted by a bayonet, or the esponton of an officer. But the whole scene was one of gloomy horror—a dead horse, a broken carriage of a fieldpiece, a town laid in ashes, the former inhabitants standing over the ruins of their dwellings, and the unburied dead, covered with blood and with the flies that were devouring it, filled me with melancholy feelings, till I was ready to say—Is the contest worth all this? I was glad to get away from the affecting spectacle. A little beyond the town I saw General Washington, accompanied only by a single dragoon, and both coming forward on a rapid gallop. Whither the General was going I know not—probably to take a hasty survey of the mischief which the enemy had done by their invasion. I feel while I write, a rising wish that he had been able to get into Kniphausen's rear. But I check the wish. The providence of God orders all these occurrences with a wisdom and benevolence infinitely beyond and better than ours.

Never was a war conducted with less wisdom than the war of our revolution, on the part of the mother

country. A knowledge of history and of human nature might, one would suppose, have taught the British ministry that a people brought up under free institutions can never be governed by mere force and compulsion, unless the force be absolutely overwhelming, and be constantly applied. Such a people—and such were the Anglo-Americans—cannot be subdued except by kindness, and a treatment marked by a strict regard to equity and humanity. I heard a man of some shrewdness once say, that when the British troops overran the state of New Jersey, in the closing part of the year 1776, the whole population could have been bought for eighteen pence a head. But when it was found that rapine, violence, oppression and insult, were the fruits of submission, the Jerseymen became some of the most obstinate and inveterate enemies to British domination in the whole country. Ramsay states that the same spirit pervaded the Carolinas, when the successes of Lord Cornwallis began to wane. In the latter stages of the war, the burning of towns and villages, and the plundering of the inhabitants, had no other effect than to produce a determination to abide by the original motto, LIBERTY OR DEATH. A somewhat ludicrous evidence of this, was exhibited in Springfield, after its conflagration. A number of houses were soon rebuilt, and a patriotic shoemaker sought, and I dare say not without effect, to recommend himself to his townsmen, by placing on the sign board over the door of his shop, something like the following pithy distich :

“N. W——[here was the name.]
For all good whigs makes shoes and boots,
But Tories and British he boldly shoots.”

I rather think that I have improved the measure in the lines of this doggerel couplet, but I am pretty sure that *tories* and *British* were the subjects of denunciation, and that *boots* and *shoots* were its clinching rhyme. I saw and read the inscription more than once.

I have now done with the narrative of my campaigns; and I hope, and devoutly pray, that you may never see any thing like the scenes and sufferings which I have described.

Affectionately, adieu.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE YEAR 1778 TO 1782.

P——, MARCH 1, 1841.

MY DEAR A.—My tours of service in the militia during our revolutionary war, had, I think, but little if any unfriendly influence on my religious principles and moral conduct. But I cannot say quite as much of my acquaintance with some of the officers of the continental army. They were generally profane in their conversation, and some of them did not hesitate to avow infidel sentiments. My taste for literature, and some small attainments in liberal knowledge, rendered my company not unacceptable to them; and although I do not recollect that any of them ever formally reasoned against Christianity, either with me or in my hearing, yet their known opinions and loose practices, had a degree of influence in leading me to question the truth and authority of divine revelation, with which my domestic education had deeply imbued my mind. In a word, I became skeptical in regard to the Holy Scriptures. This state of mind, however, I did not disclose to any one. So far was I from ever speaking against revealed truth, that I believe I should have defended it in argument, if I had heard it assailed. Still the fact was, that I was full of doubts and uncertainty on this all important subject. Such a subject I

plainly perceived it to be; and therefore determined that my mind should be settled in relation to it, with full and serious deliberation. Not that I had an intention to endeavour after practical piety, if I should decide in favour of the claims of the Bible. My whole purpose was, as far as I remember, to make up my mind, speculatively and yet decisively, on a point of great moment, and in regard to which I felt that my skepticism rendered me very uneasy.

I had access to some of the best writers on the controverted points of a Christian's faith; and I find by the diary which I kept at the time, that I read Addison's *Evidences of the Christian Religion*, and Clark's famous *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*. Leland's *Review of the Deistical Writers*, was better adapted to my purpose than the works I have just mentioned, and the volumes containing this review were in my father's library; but I have no memorandum, nor a distinct recollection, to what extent I perused them. But the result of my reading and speculations was, a conviction that the Christian advocates had decisively the best of the argument; and yet I found that my doubts were not terminated, and that my mind was far from being in a settled and quiet state. I knew that a man of learning and ingenuity might, and often did, make the *worse* appear the *better* cause; and what if this was so, in the present instance? I wanted *certainty*, and in what way was it to be obtained? The thought at length struck me forcibly, and without being suggested by any thing but the workings of my own mind, that if the Bible did contain a revelation from God, which we must believe, on

the peril of our souls' salvation, it would certainly carry on the face of it the evidence of the justness of its claims—provided it were carefully and candidly examined, and with a sincere and earnest desire to know the truth. The equity and goodness of God, I thought, ensured this, if he had indeed spoken to us in the Bible. To the Bible itself I determined, therefore, to make my final appeal. My christian education had already rendered me, in a degree, familiar with a large portion of its contents; but on this I resolved to place no dependence. I took up the New Testament as if I had never opened it before; and with the single object of looking out for the signatures of divinely inspired truth; and I prayed, as well as half an infidel could pray, that God, in whose existence and attributes I believed, would help me to form a just opinion of the truth or fallacy of that book. Proceeding in this way, I had not gone through the four evangelists, till all my skepticism left me; and to this hour it has never returned. My mind, indeed, has sometimes been harassed with almost every species of infidel, and even atheistic suggestions. But I have at the very time of their occurrence, been thoroughly convinced that they were false and groundless, and have only wished to get rid of them as an affliction: So that I can say with truth, that I have never entertained a *serious doubt* of the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, since I was enabled to settle the point in the way I have stated. And this, let me say, I am persuaded is the best way of bringing to a satisfactory issue, this question of unrivalled and infinite importance. In saying this, do not understand me as intending to utter a word in dispa-

ragement of the many able and unanswerable vindications of the truth of the volume of inspiration, which learned and pious men have published. Such publications are of incalculable value, in rebutting the cavils of unbelievers, and in guarding men against the rejection of the sacred Scriptures, without reading them with care and candour. And yet I am firmly of the opinion, that to a really anxious inquirer after the truth, the way I took will be more likely to issue in a full and solid satisfaction of his own mind, than a knowledge of all the controversial writings that the advocates of revelation have ever given to the world. These advocates show us what are the dictates and legitimate conclusions of human reason, but when we become satisfied that we find God himself impressing his signet on his own word, there is an end at once of all doubt and distrust.

Most truly is it written, "A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps." Although, as I have stated, I had no view to practical piety, in the new method I adopted of reading the word of God, I found when my skepticism was destroyed, that I could not stop in mere speculation. The train of my subsequent thoughts and exercises I cannot pretend, after the lapse of more than sixty years, to trace exactly. But it was not long before I was made to feel, that if the Bible contained revealed truth, my state and prospects were fearfully alarming. Such a seriousness as I had never known before, pervaded my mind; yet I still kept my feelings entirely to myself. I sought and found a place for retirement and devotion, in a copse of wood, on a piece of rising ground, a short

distance from the house in which I resided. In this beautiful little grove was a large rock, precipitous on one of its sides, and from its base, and nearly in contact with it, had sprung up a young chestnut tree. On the bark of this tree, I cut with my penknife, in large letters, "Holiness to the Lord," that these solemn words might meet my eye whenever I came to the place of meditation and prayer. Being engaged at this time in teaching a numerous school, chiefly but not wholly of grammar scholars, my time was much occupied; but once a day at least, if not forbidden by the state of the weather, I paid a visit to my favourite grove, and spent some time sitting at the foot of the tree, in solemn meditation, concluded with a prayer, on my knees, or standing and leaning against the rock. Sweet and sacred spot! it is at this moment before my mind's eye, in all its loveliness. Some ten or twelve years after I was an ordained minister, and journeying near the place, I made an attempt to find it, for its remembrance has ever been precious. But my attempt was not successful. I found with great regret, that the whole surface of the ground on which the grove had formerly existed, had entirely changed its aspect. The trees had all been cut down, and the field which contained them had been ploughed up for cultivation; and as there were several rocks in the field, I could not with certainty even identify the one that was so dear to my memory.

Having never before informed you of those mental operations and exercises, which eventually led to my vocation for life, I thought it would not be proper, in writing my reminiscences, to omit so important a

change of my views and feelings, as that of which I have now given you an account. My mind had subsequently many alternations of light and darkness, hope and fear, in regard to my religious state, and many difficulties in deciding on a profession—whether it should be theology or law.

In the latter part of the month of November, 1781, I finally dismissed my school, returned to my father's, and spent the ensuing winter in study, preparing for an advanced standing when I should enter college in the spring. My previous training in classical literature had been entirely under the direction and instruction of my father, who, about the period at which our colleges were broken up, as the most of them were by the revolutionary war, considered my attainments as qualifying me for the junior class in the College of New Jersey. I was eventually admitted to that class, after it had gone through the half of its usual course at that time. During the winter spent at my father's, I studied with an intenseness that was indiscreet and injurious. I allowed but eight hours of the four and twenty, for sleep, meals and exercise, of the last of which I took but little, and I taxed myself to do nearly as much by candle light as by day light. The consequence was, that my eye sight was so much injured, that in the following spring I was compelled for some weeks to omit study altogether.

In this letter, which contains so much about myself, I will narrate an incident, on which I have often reflected with interest, and which I do not recollect that I have mentioned to you before. It was this: The

college at New Haven, as well as that at Princeton, had been suspended in its operations by the events of the war, and during its suspension, I had formed an acquaintance with one of its alumni, who shortly after became a tutor in that institution. I wrote him a letter, making inquiries in relation to the price of board, course of study, and the requisite attainments for a standing in the several classes of the college in which he held his office. I waited for an answer to my letter till I ceased to expect it, and then a friend, who was afterwards my class mate and room mate, took a ride to Princeton, to ascertain the state of Nassau Hall. His report decided us to go there. We went accordingly, and about a fortnight after we were matriculated, I received my long expected letter from Yale, which had been lying, for probably six weeks, in a post office within seven miles of my father's residence. Had I received it seasonably, (and I never could tell why I did not,) I should certainly have gone to Yale, and not to Nassau Hall. Now, here is the point toward which my long preamble has been tending—*the whole of my subsequent life has taken its complexion and its course from the college with which I then became connected.* Thus, my son, the overruling providence of God often assigns us our allotment in this world, not only without our contrivance, but in opposition to it, and the disappointment of our fondest wishes.

At the time at which the seriousness took place which is stated in this number of my reminiscences, I resided in the family of my brother-in-law, the Rev. Ebenezer Bradford. Beside his public preaching on

the Sabbath, he occasionally preached in the evening of that day, in his own house, to as many as he could accommodate in it. For one of these evening discourses, he took for his text, 1 Tim. ii. 5: "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." My mind was very deeply interested and impressed by this discourse. I immediately after the close of the sermon, and without saying any thing to the family, retired to my room, and there in meditation I found my mind drawn out into a most delightful contemplation of the heavenly state. Fear, which had hitherto been the prevailing affection of my religious exercises, was entirely removed; and I rejoiced exceedingly in the hope of the gospel. Indeed I was in a kind of rapture, which lasted for a considerable part of the night. Through the following day I was much melted with the sense of the love of God—it seemed as if I could see it in the sunbeam. Whether a real change in my spiritual state took place at this time, I have in late years very seriously doubted—although I stated my hope that it did, when I was examined by the presbytery on my personal piety.

Darkness soon succeeded to the light, and peace and joy that I had experienced, and it was very gradually that I recovered some degree of hope, mingled with much fear. The reason why I have questioned my conversion at the time above stated, is, the very imperfect state, if not the extreme absence of sanctification, that followed it; the strength and prevalence of corruption; and my not being able to recollect whether

my views of the plan of salvation by Christ were clear, in the season of my rapturous feelings. Most earnestly do I wish that I had committed to writing at that time, what were my real apprehensions of sacred truth, during the sermon that I heard, and the night that followed it. Soon, however, it became known to my relations and friends, that a change of some kind had passed upon me. On being invited about this time, I made a prayer in a social prayer meeting. My recollection is indistinct, whether I prayed in my school, but I believe I did. When I lived in my father's family, the winter previously to my going to college, my excellent mother, in the absence of my father, came into my study, and told me that although, as I knew, she had been wont to pray with the family, when my father was from home, she must now lay that duty upon me. I made no excuse, but it was with great diffidence and fear that I consented. My father told me that as I was going to college, that would be the most proper place for me to make a public profession of religion; and would put my sincerity to a better test than if he should receive me into his church. It was accordingly in my senior year, in college, that I was admitted to the full communion of the church. After this, and while I was yet a student, I on several occasions, in the absence of our single tutor, performed the morning service in the college chapel. This I did at the earnest request of Doctor Smith, whose feeble health forbade him to rise at so early an hour as five o'clock—the hour at which morning prayers in college were then celebrated, in winter as well as in summer. My

fellow students, in the absence of all authority, seemed to make it a point of honour to behave with strict decorum. I fear there was little of better and higher motives, than honour and a regard to decorum; for I was at that time the only professor of religion among them, and a number of them were grossly profane. This general subject I hope to resume in another part of my life.

Affectionately adieu.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE YEAR 1782 TO 1785.

P——, APRIL 16, 1841.

MY DEAR A.—It is not easily understood by persons of the present generation, with what singular deference and respect a man of real merit was treated in the British colonies, simply from the circumstance, that he had come from the mother country. Dr. Witherspoon is known to have made this remark on several occasions. His accession to the presidentship of the College of New Jersey, was unquestionably an acquisition of great value to the institution, if his qualifications for the office had alone been taken into view; but the value of the acquisition was greatly enhanced by his being a native of Britain, who had obtained distinction before he left his native country. He was received with great rejoicings, and entered on the duties of his office in August, 1768. Nor were the high expectations entertained of the effects of his administration in any degree disappointed. In the period of less than eight years, which intervened between his arrival in America and his entrance in political life, the number of students in the college was considerably increased, the course of study was greatly improved, the funds of the institution, which had been nearly exhausted, were replenished, and its reputation was widely extended. In a word, Nassau Hall had never before risen to an elevation of character, such as it then possessed.

In the early part of the summer of 1776, Dr. Witherspoon was elected a member of the provincial congress of New Jersey, by which the constitution of that State was formed. He did not, however, continue in that body till the constitution was completed and adopted; having been previously, with four other gentlemen, chosen to represent the State in the continental congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. The most disastrous period of our revolutionary war occurred in the summer, autumn, and beginning of winter, of the year in which our national independence was declared. After the abandonment of Long Island and York Island, and the capture of Fort Washington by the British, they overran the whole state of New Jersey, and compelled General Washington, with a mere remnant of the army which he commanded at the opening of the campaign, to retreat to the western side of the Delaware river.

There was no public commencement of the college this year, (1776,) nor for the two following years, although some partial instruction had been given to a few students, by the president and the professor of mathematics, as early as the summer of 1778. In September, 1779, a public commencement was held as usual, and the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on six young gentlemen, whose course of studies had been in progress before the dispersion of the college, and had been completed in the preceding year. The war of our revolution was still going on, and although the exercises of college were never intermitted after the commencement of 1779, yet the number of students was small, and its increase very gradual. It

was between forty and fifty, and I think nearer the former than the latter, when I entered college. Dr. Witherspoon was then in congress, and I did not even see him till more than six weeks after my matriculation. The instruction and government of the institution were conducted by the son-in-law of the president, the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, afterwards Dr. Smith, aided only by a single tutor, Mr. James Riddle. Dr. Witherspoon left congress finally, in the autumn of that year, (1782,) and in the following winter heard the recitations of the senior class on his own lectures.

The college edifice had been a barrack, alternately, for each of the hostile armies; first for the British troops, and then for a detachment of the continental army and a corps of militia. The British had rifled the library; some of the books of which were afterwards found in North Carolina, left there by the troops of Lord Cornwallis. What was left did not deserve the name of a library. Of the philosophical apparatus, nothing remained but the orrery, a small telescope, and an electrical machine, with a case of coated jars. They placed a guard over Rittenhouse's orrery, intending to transport it to Britain. Its delicate machinery was deranged, and all its operations prevented, by the fingering of the American troops, when, on the retreat of the British, they succeeded to the possession of the edifice. The church also had been stripped of its pews, which were probably used for fire-wood, as a fire-place had been built, and a chimney carried up through the roof, on one of its sides. The chapel contained nothing of its former furniture and ornaments, except an empty

organ case, and the coat of arms of Governor Belcher. At the battle of Princeton—which, by the way, turned the tide of war in favour of our country—a regiment of British troops took shelter in the college, and General Washington drove them out by turning his artillery against it. The stone walls, indeed, could not be perforated by the shot of fieldpieces, but the impressions they made were long visible, and a number of the balls entered the windows, and made great havoc in the interior of the house. The British abandoned it, and surrendered without further resistance. The large windows, on the south side of the prayer hall, presented a conspicuous mark for the American artillery, and a cannon ball that came in at one of these windows, cut off the head of King George, as it was exhibited in his full length portrait. Such was the accredited tradition when I was a student in the house, and I still believe in its truth. What became of the portrait of Governor Belcher, I know not. Nothing but his coat of arms appeared on the wall to which it had originally been appended.

The dilapidation and pollution of the college edifice, when left by its military occupants, extended to every part of it, and rendered it utterly unfit, without a thorough cleansing and repair, for the residence of students. The second and third entries had been partially repaired, and the most of the chambers rendered habitable and decent, when I entered the institution. The other two entries still lay desolate, except that the Cliosophic Society had repaired their hall in the fourth story, and that two rooms in the lowest story, at the

east end, had been fitted up, one for a grammar school, and the other for a dining room. Adieu.

P——, APRIL 23, 1841.

MY DEAR A.—I have heretofore stated that I was admitted to the junior class, half advanced. Of course, I was an under graduate but eighteen months. In all the studies of the institution I had, before I entered it, made some progress; and in a part of the established routine, I was before the class to which I was received. My only deficiency was in Euclid, and when that was made up, my college life was one of much ease and pleasure. Previous attainments had rendered it unnecessary, in order to my maintaining a respectable standing, to study closely, more than three or four hours of the four and twenty. In my senior year, I taught Dr. Witherspoon's grammar school, the half of every day. But I did not waste much of my time in idleness; it was commonly employed, after the duties of the school and class were performed, in useful reading, and in improving myself in English composition. So much for what I have to say of myself *exclusively*. The remainder of this letter will be devoted to occurrences with which I became acquainted, and concerns in which I acted a part with others, during my academical course.

In my last letter, I mentioned that the Cliosophic Society had repaired their hall in the college edifice, in which their meetings were held. The American Whig Society had not, at that time, resuscitated their institution, after the revolutionary war. Some

account of its revival will form a part of a brief statement I shall give you of the origin and progress of both those rival societies, which must be unknown to you, as your college course was not passed at Nassau Hall. Before Dr. Witherspoon's accession to the presidentship of the college, the tradition in my time was, that two voluntary associations of the students had existed, under the names of "The Well Meaning" and "Plain Dealing" societies; but that shortly after Dr. Witherspoon entered on his office, these societies changed their names or titles. The Well Meaning association took the name of Cliosophic, the Plain Dealing assumed the appellation of American Whig. At their origin, these societies had a sectional patronage. Those students who came from the eastern part of New Jersey, and from New York and New England, almost uniformly united with the former, and those from West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the southern States, joined the latter. This sectional patronage was entirely done away by the revolutionary war. Since that period, both societies have included members from every part of the United States. My room mate and myself were principally instrumental in reviving the Whig society. Very soon after our matriculation, I drew up a paper, pledging the subscribers to become members of this society, provided the original constitution could be obtained, and enough of the old members could be collected, and should be disposed to receive us to their fellowship. Both the constitution and the former minutes of the society had been carefully preserved by a graduate of the college, and were forthcoming at the request of the old members, when assembled for the purpose of admitting the

pledged associates; and, on inquiry, we found that a lady in the town had preserved some of the furniture of the old hall, which she was willing and desirous to return. The inventory was not long, and I will give it: a looking glass of considerable size, a pair of brass andirons, and two octavo volumes of Johnson's abbreviated dictionary, constituted the whole. The old members admitted nine of us as their associates, and the faculty of the college granted us the privilege of holding our meetings in the library room of the college, till our hall should be repaired.

The halls of these societies have had three locations; the first in the fourth story of Nassau Hall, in the two half rooms, which, with the entry between them, fill up, in that story, the front projection of the edifice. The second location was in the upper story of the present library, which they entirely occupied. Within a few years past, two large and handsome structures have been erected for their accommodation, at the south end of the back campus. The Cliosophic society occupy that on the west side of this campus, and the American Whig that on the east. Each of these societies now possesses a large, well selected, and very valuable library. The funds for the erection of the new structures were obtained by subscriptions from their graduate members, together with the contributions of those who were still in the classes of the college. The graduate members are, at present, very numerous. Among them are found the trustees and officers of the college, many of the most distinguished officers of the General and State governments, of the past as well as the present time, and a large number of

literary and scientific individuals, in private life—both societies confer diplomas on their members. At all times, the greatest secrecy has been enjoined on all who belong to these associations, in regard to their laws, usages and transactions—except that on public occasions they wear a badge, to indicate that the wearer is either a Whig or a Clio. Between these literary corps, there has always existed an ardent spirit of rivalry, which, once before our revolutionary war, and once since, broke out into a paper war, which proceeded to such a length that the authority of the college was obliged to interfere and prohibit its continuance. Of late years, I believe the members of these societies form friendships with each other, and have more cordial intercourse generally, than was customary in former times; yet there is still a high spirit of competition, especially for what are called the honors of college. The influence of these societies, when they are rightly conducted, is, beyond a question, highly salutary. I used to think and say, that I derived as much benefit from the exercises of the Whig society, while I was a member of college, as from the instructions of my teachers.

On the 20th of June, 1783, a collection of mutinous soldiers of the American army, in number about 300, surrounded the State House in Philadelphia, in which were sitting the Continental Congress, and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. “They placed guards at every door; and sent in a written message to the President and Council of the State, and threatened to let loose an enraged soldiery upon them, if they were not gratified as to their wishes, within twenty minutes.

The situation of congress, though they were not the particular object of the soldiers' resentment, was far from being agreeable. After being about three hours under duress, they retired, but previously resolved that the authority of the United States had been grossly insulted. Soon after they left Philadelphia, and fixed on Princeton as the place of their next meeting." This occurrence took place in the summer of my senior year in college. The congress assembled in Princeton, before the end of the month in which they left Philadelphia. The members sought such accommodations as they could find in the families of the village, which was not then a third part as large as it is at present. Congress held their sittings in the library room of Nassau Hall—a room which was nearly as spacious as that which they occupied in Philadelphia. Their committees made use of the lodging rooms intended for students, of which there were a number then vacant. Doctor Elias Boudinot, who was a trustee of the college, was at this time the president of congress. Not long after their meeting at Princeton, the national jubilee, the 4th of July, was to be celebrated; and then occurred the first instance of the Whig and Cliosophic societies appointing each an orator, to represent them as speaker before a public audience. I had the honour to be the Whig representative, and my Cliosophic competitor was a classmate, by the name of Gilbert T. Snowden. It was considered as a point of some importance which orator should speak first. This was decided by lot, and the lot was in my favour. The subject of my oration was, "The superiority of a republican government over any other form." Among

my old papers, I not long since found a part of my speech on the occasion here referred to. Congress made a part of our audience, and the orators of the day were invited by the president of congress to dine with him and his other invited guests, at his quarters, which were with his sister, then a widow, at her seat at Morven.

The church in Princeton had been repaired during the summer (1783) which preceded the commencement at which I received my bachelor's degree. An extended stage, running the length of the pulpit side of the church, had been erected; and as the president of congress was a trustee of the college, and the president of the college had recently been a distinguished member of congress, and that body itself had been accommodated in the college edifice, an adjournment to attend commencement seemed to be demanded by courtesy, and was readily agreed on. We accordingly had on the stage, with the trustees and the graduating class, the whole of the congress, the ministers of France and Holland, and commander-in-chief of the American army. The valedictory oration had been assigned to me, and it concluded with an address to General Washington. I need not tell you, that both in preparing and delivering it, I put forth all my powers. The General coloured as I addressed him, for his modesty was among the qualities which so highly distinguished him. The next day, as he was going to attend on a committee of congress, he met me in one of the long entries of the college edifice, stopped and took me by the hand, and complimented me on my address, in language which I should lack his modesty if I repeated it, even to you.

After walking and conversing with me for a few minutes, he requested me to present his best wishes for their success in life to my classmates, and then went to the committee room of congress. I never took a copy of my valedictory oration, but *carelessly* gave the original, at his request, to Shepard Kollock, who then printed a newspaper at Chatham, in Morris county. It was published by him in October, 1783. I have made several efforts to find the paper which contained it, but hitherto without success.

General Washington made a present of fifty guineas to the trustees of the college, which they laid out in a full length portrait of him, painted by the elder Peale, of Philadelphia. This picture now occupies the place, and it is affirmed the very frame, which contained the picture of George the Second, and which was decapitated by Washington's artillery, as stated in my last letter. There is a representation in the back ground of this picture, of the battle of Princeton, in which General Mercer, prostrate, wounded and bleeding, holds a conspicuous place. Affectionately adieu.

P——, JULY 22, 1842.

MY DEAR A.—It is not worth while to spend your time or my own, in telling you why I have, for so long a space, ceased to furnish you with a continuance of my reminiscences. In the interval, however, I have entered on my eighty-first year, so that I am now an octogenarian instead of a septuagenarian. My account of myself in my last letter, left me in the character of a graduate of the College of New Jersey. I am now to state, that immediately after graduation I became a

tutor in Nassau Hall, and continued as such for two years, and then received the appointment of Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, which I held for a year and a half. During this latter period, I was, on the third of November, 1785, married to the eldest daughter of Robert Stockton, Esq., of Princeton, New Jersey. It was also during my professorship in the college that I was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick to preach the gospel—this occurred in the month of February, 1786.

I have heretofore told you that I had serious difficulty in deciding on a profession for life; and that the alternative that perplexed me was, whether to devote myself to theology or law. After much debate in my own mind, and consultation had with my father and other friends, the point was decided in the following manner: Dr. Smith, the son-in-law of Dr. Witherspoon, and his successor in the presidentship, was at this time vice president of the college. He invited me, while in the tutorship, to accompany him to Tusculum, the country seat of Dr. Witherspoon, to take tea and spend a part of the evening. On our walk back to the town, as I had not hitherto consulted him on the question that embarrassed me, I resolved to open my mind, freely to him, and to ask his advice. I did so; the conversation was of some length, but I can give only its substance. When he had attentively heard my statement, the doctor said, "Do you not make a mistake in this matter? Is it really a question in regard to your *duty*? Is it not rather a question which produces a conflict between your *inclination* and your *duty*?" This roused me: For although I *now* believe

that Dr. Smith's suspicion was right, I did not so view it *then*, and therefore answered promptly and earnestly, "No, sir, I think not—if I know myself, I am resolved to take the path of duty, if I can find it, whithersoever it may lead me, or whatever may be its consequences." "Theology," replied the doctor, "is not the road either to fame or wealth. The law, in this country, leads to those objects. But if you wish to do good, and prefer an approving conscience before all other considerations, I have no hesitation in saying that you ought to preach the gospel." We were near the college when these remarks were made; I hastened to my study, and there, in a very solemn and decisive manner, made my election in the vocation in which I have spent my long life—having never, for a single moment, regretted my choice; although often tremblingly fearful of the responsibilities I then assumed, I have frequently thought with gratitude of the fidelity of Dr. Smith, in the conversation here recited, and am glad of an opportunity to mention it to his honour.

It was my happiness, while tutor and professor in the college, to possess the friendship and confidence both of Dr. Witherspoon and Dr. Smith, my superiors in age and station; and to their kindness and patronage I was greatly indebted for the favourable circumstances in which I commenced my professional career. To Dr. Witherspoon, more than to any other human being, I am indebted for whatever of influence or success has attended me in life. His useful instructions, wise counsels, kind monitions, and friendly aid, were of incalculable advantage during the whole period of fourteen years, that he lived after my first acquaintance

with him. The two editions of his works which have been published in this country, were both edited by me; and I have prepared for the press a third edition, much more complete than any that has yet appeared. I have also written his life at large, intermingling it with a brief review of his various publications. But there is, I fear, little prospect that his works and life, which I wished should accompany each other, will be published before my death; as all my endeavours to bring them before the public have hitherto proved abortive.

I think it proper to explain more at large the cause of my embarrassment in deciding on a profession for my subsequent life; and to notice some other occurrences which took place before my settlement in Philadelphia.

In conversing with my father on the subject of a profession for life, he said, "I fear you have not religion enough to be a lawyer,"—meaning, as he afterwards explained, that the profession of law was attended by so many temptations, and tended so powerfully to beget a carnal and worldly spirit, that unless a man was fervently pious when he entered it, his eternal interests would be greatly endangered. He, therefore, advised me not to study and practise the law. On the other hand, my colleague in the tutorship, Mr. Samuel Beach, a most estimable man, was actually pursuing the study of the law; and the late Richard Stockton, Esq., then a young man, offered of his own accord, to take me without a fee, to direct my studies, and furnish me with books. But what weighed with me, perhaps more than all the rest was, that the lady to whom I was

then affianced, had expressed herself decidedly in favour of my studying law. It was in opposition to all these considerations, and in a state of mind in which I had many doubts and fears as to my personal piety, (which I considered as an essential qualification in a gospel minister,) that I made the determination which followed the conversation I had with Dr. Smith. In reviewing all the circumstances of the case, I hope I do not err in attributing it to the influence of the good Spirit of the Lord, secretly operating on my mind, that led me to the decision which I formed. On the day that followed this decision, I had an interview with her to whom I was betrothed; not knowing what she would say or think of the resolution I had adopted. She heard my statement with attention, and then, to my surprise and gratification, said, "I rejoice that your mind is at length freed from anxiety and embarrassment, and I have no objections to make." The circumstances that led to our union were peculiar, and even romantic, but I will not write them. We were married on the third of November, 1785, Dr. Wither- spoon performing the marriage ceremony. The following winter I lived with my father-in-law, at Constitution Hill, about a mile from Princeton, and rode to town daily, to attend on my duties in the college; my appointment, as a professor in the institution, having been made at the last meeting of the Trustees, before the annual commencement in 1785. My wife was not a professor of religion when I married her, nor had she been exempted from the gaieties of life. But she had a pious mother, and in addition to her good sense was under the influence of a deep reverence

for religion. We had an apartment to ourselves in her father's house, and from the time of our marriage we had daily worship by ourselves, in the room that we occupied. In the following spring we went to house-keeping in Princeton; my father-in-law giving us the use of a large house, which he owned, and to which was attached a garden, stables, and a lot of meadow ground. It was afterwards the residence of his son, Dr. Ebenezer Stockton.

My first invitation to a settlement in the ministry, was from the Independent Congregation of Charleston, South Carolina, and was brought to me by their venerable deacon, a Mr. Smith. My friend and fellow tutor, Mr. Beach, in consequence of a consumptive complaint, which finally proved fatal, had passed the winter in Charleston, and had made such a favourable representation in my behalf in the congregation I have mentioned, that they invited me to a collegiate charge with Dr. Hollinshead, their existing pastor. I wrote to them in reply, that I had, before I received their invitation, proposed to visit Charleston in the following spring, and could not come sooner; but, in the meantime, if they had an opportunity to suit themselves with a preacher, they should do it, notwithstanding the invitation sent to me, since my acceptance of their call was necessarily uncertain, as we were perfect strangers to each other. Having said this to them, I felt myself at liberty to accept the call from Philadelphia, which I soon after received; and yet I was severely censured, as I was informed, by some of the people who had given me the first invitation.

A candidate for the pastoral office cannot be too

explicit with a people who call him; he should say yes, or no, without qualification. It was by Dr. Wither-
spoon's advice, that I accepted the call to Philadelphia, after stating to me the probable consequences which would follow, from my being the colleague of a young man, or an old one. Dr. Hollinshead was then a young man, and Dr. Sproat not far from his seventieth year.

It was of course proper, after I was invited to Charleston, that I should consult my wife on the subject; and I will record her answer, as an example to all clergymen's wives in similar circumstances: "My dear," said she, "make up your own mind in the matter of duty, and always understand, that I am ready and willing to accompany you to any place to which you shall think your duty calls you."

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE YEAR 1785 TO 1789.

P——, AUGUST, 1842.

I now proceed to say something farther of myself. My first public service after being licensed to preach was performed in the church at Princeton, then stately supplied by Dr. Witherspoon, who accompanied me to the pulpit. While under his direction, in my theological training, he had earnestly recommended his own mode of memoriter preaching; and, accordingly, my initial sermon was delivered without the appearance of notes; although I persisted, in opposition to his remonstrance, to place them under the Bible, from which I had read the chapter that contained my text. I had, however, no occasion to recur to them, for I had committed every sentence to memory, with as much accuracy as I ever did a grammar rule. After the worship was over, he tapped me on the shoulder, and said, "Well, well, continue to do as well as that, and we'll be satisfied"—the only praise that he ever gave me to my face.*

During the spring vacation of the college, (1786,) I accompanied Dr. Smith on a visit to Philadelphia, and preached there twice. Soon after, the Second Presbyterian Church of that city made application to the Presbytery of New Brunswick, whose licentiate I

* Appendix, C.

was, to give me a monthly appointment to preach in their pulpit, with a view to my becoming an assistant to the Rev. Dr. James Sproat, their aged and excellent pastor. This application was successful, and the Presbytery coterminously appointed me, for the remainder of my time, to supply a vacant congregation between Princeton and Trenton, whose place of public worship then was, and still is in the village now known by the name of Lawrence. The discharge of the duties thus assigned me, in addition to those of my professorship, eventually destroyed my health. In the autumn of that year, I was assailed by a train of nervous symptoms of the most distressing kind, from the effects of which I have never been entirely free; that is, my health has never been so firm as it was before.

It was in the midst of this affliction that I received, and by the advice of Dr. Witherspoon accepted, a call from the congregation in Philadelphia, in which my monthly services had been performed; and in the following January I went thither, for the double purpose of receiving medical advice and assistance, and of forming a more extensive acquaintance with the people who had called me. I remained there a month, using the remedies prescribed by a consultation of physicians, preached twice, and returned to Princeton, somewhat relieved, but still incapable of study. The pupils of my eyes were preternaturally expanded, with the loss of the power of contracting them.* In consequence of

* I think I ought to mention, with humble thankfulness to God, that although the disorder and weakness of my eyes continued, for several of the first years of my ministerial life, and to such a degree as to make me seriously fearful that I should lose my sight alto-

this, I could not see to read or write more than from fifteen to twenty minutes at a time. It therefore seemed to me a clear case, inasmuch as I had not a single written preparation for the pulpit, which I had not used in the congregation that I was expected statedly and frequently to address, that I ought without hesitation or delay to resign my call. But while I was meditating on the contents of a letter to tell the people so, Dr. Witherspoon providentially called to see me. Believing that there could be no question that duty demanded the step I was about to take, I had not consulted him on the subject, but as he was now present, I at once told him my intention. As soon as I did so, he addressed me to this effect, and in much of the following language:—"Young man! take care how you do that; for if you do it, my opinion is, that you are not likely to do any good while you live. Look you at — and at — (mentioning two clergymen whom I knew,) and if we were in Scotland, I could point you to fifty more just like them; and are you going now to add yourself to the number? No—go you down to Philadelphia, and do as well as you can, and God will help you; for if you give up now, you will probably never have courage to resume your labours. Take every thing in moderation, but with this qualification, treat yourself as if you were well, and before long you will be so. At about your age, I was for three years in much the same situation as that

gether; yet, for many years past, the complaint has entirely vanished, and now, in my eighty-first year, I can, with the use of spectacles, read largely and write considerably, both by day and by night, without difficulty or injury.

in which you now are, and I know that but a few have resolution to take the course I recommend; but there is no other alternative but to do it, or consent to be worthless to the end of life." I had been accustomed to consider his words as oracular, and I resolved *instantly*, and at every hazard, to abide by his advice. I repaired immediately to Philadelphia with my wife, for I had no other family; and in about a month afterward was ordained as assistant to, and co-pastor with Dr. Sproat. At my ordination Dr. Sproat presided; Dr. Ewing preached the sermon, which was afterwards printed; and Dr. Duffield gave the charge to the pastor and the people. The arrangements for my ordination had been made with a view to mingle, and if possible to harmonize the *old side* and the *new side* members of the Presbytery. For although nearly seventy-nine years had elapsed, since in 1752 the rival Synods had become united; two Presbyteries of Philadelphia had existed, composed severally of the litigant parties; and the aged members of both sides had retained something of the old bitter feelings towards each other.

In addition to this, Dr. Ewing and Dr. Duffield were personally alienated; the former was the pastor of the first church, by whose wealth, chiefly, the house occupied by the third church, of which Dr. Duffield was pastor, had been built. The people of the third church had insisted upon calling a pastor for themselves, without any interference on the part of those of the first church; and the courts of the church had sanctioned this claim. But in the mean time, a suit at law had been commenced for the property in question, and

decided by the Supreme Court of the province in favour of the first church. But such was the violent spirit which had been excited, that the people of the third church appealed, as I was informed, *to the king in council*; and it was the breaking out of the revolutionary war that prevented this appeal being prosecuted. It was not till after the death of some of the ardent litigants, and Dr. Duffield among the rest, that the matter was finally settled under the ministry of the Rev. Dr. John Smith, by the people of the third church paying a certain sum of money to those of the first church. I preached the funeral sermon of Dr. Duffield, which, at the request of the congregation, was published. There were no galleries in the house when this sermon was delivered, nor till some years afterwards. The first two years of my ministry were arduous in the extreme; but I look back to them with pleasure and with gratitude to Dr. Witherspoon, to whose counsels and injunctions I hold myself indebted, under God, that I have not led a life altogether useless.

Philadelphia, when it became the place of my stated residence, in April, 1787, was, in my estimation, including the Liberties, scarcely a third part as large as it is at present. On Independence square there was no building but the State House, with perhaps one or two of the offices that are now attached to it. The elm trees of the avenue, which led from the south door to the gateway on Walnut street, were planted in an early part of the spring of my settlement, and were said to have been taken from the grounds of my father-in-law, at Princeton. The market house in High street, if I recollect rightly, did not extend farther westward than

to Fourth street. There was a floating bridge over the Schuylkill, opposite Market street; but there was then no other way known to me of passing that river but by boat, the floating bridge which soon after led to Gray's gardens, did not, I think, then exist. Washington square is a quite recent improvement. For many years after the time I am speaking of, it was the Potter's field, the burial place of strangers and the friendless. There were vacant lots probably in every square in the city, and its general westward extension was not much beyond Fourth street. The Liberties were still less populous. The hospital and bettering-house were considered as far out of the city. Of churches, or places of public worship, there were two Friends' meeting houses, three Episcopal churches, three Presbyterian, two German Lutheran, one German Calvinist, one Seceder, one Methodist, one Baptist, one Moravian, one Roman Catholic, and one Jews' Synagogue. In the Southern Liberties was the Swedes' church, probably the oldest place of worship in Pennsylvania. In the Northern Liberties there was a public burial ground, but northward of Vine street there was no place of public worship, except a small building in which Dr. Sproat and myself performed alternate services.

For a number of years, in the first part of my residence in Philadelphia, it was the custom to invite all the clergy of the city to attend funerals of distinction. It was of course known that the invitation would not be complied with by public speakers in the Society of Friends; but of the other denominations mentioned above, I believe there was no refusal. I distinctly

recollect seeing the Jewish Rabbi or Reader, attending on several occasions. In forming the clerical procession, preference in place or rank was uniformly decided on the principle of seniority of age or official standing. Bishop White and my venerable colleague Dr. Sproat, when present, always took the lead. During our revolutionary war there were no public religious controversies, nor as far as I recollect, for about ten years after the peace which terminated that war.

It was the usage, while Washington was President of the United States, for the clergy of the city to go in a body to congratulate him on his birth-day; and on these occasions he always appeared unusually cheerful. The last time we made such a call, which was about ten days before his retirement from office, he said, with singular vivacity, "Gentlemen, I feel the weight of years; I take a pair of sixes on my shoulders this day." This great man was not in his proper element when he attempted a pleasant conceit. I never witnessed his making the attempt but on this occasion; and if his allusion, as I suppose must have been the case, was to the fifty-sixes used in weighing heavy articles, it was surely far-fetched and not very obvious. He entered his sixty-sixth year at this time.

On the 4th of March, when he carried into effect his purpose of retirement, which he had previously announced, the city clergy waited on him with an address; which, with his answer, was published in the newspapers of the day. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter published after his death, speaks of the design of this address, and of the character of its answer, as indicating that Washington was suspected of infidelity,

and broadly intimates that such a suspicion was just. As to the design of the address, I may be allowed to say, that Mr. Jefferson's remarks are incorrect, since by the appointment of my clerical brethren, it was penned by myself, and I have not a doubt that the whole imputation is utterly groundless.

The convention which formed the present Constitution of the United States, sat in Philadelphia the first summer after my ordination. It consisted of the concentrated talent and wisdom of our country. But as it sat in conclave, nothing, beyond rumour, was known of its doings, till the Constitution itself was published, accompanied by the circular letter of its venerated president.

In my next communication I propose to take some notice of the state of the country which led to the formation of the existing Constitution of the United States. Adieu for the present.

MY DEAR SON,—When I settled in Philadelphia, four years had elapsed since the independence of our country was established by the peace of Paris. But although the storm of war had ceased, the agitation of the waves which it had excited was not yet tranquilized. John Adams, the immediate successor of Washington in the Presidentship of the United States, was our first ambassador to the Court of London. On being introduced to the king, George the Third, that monarch addressed him to the following effect: "Sir, I was the last man of my kingdom to consent to the independence of your country, and shall be the last to violate the treaty that confirms it." In truth, it had

been the king's and people's war; and the contrary opinion which had prevailed in this country was erroneous. The nation was mortified at the results of the war, and indignant at the loss of its colonies. Dr. Witherspoon found it so to his sorrow, when he visited England and Scotland, in 1784, to solicit benefactions for the College of New Jersey. On our side, too, many were yet living who had suffered beyond endurance, in the prison-ships of New York; and there was a still greater number who remembered, with unextinguished anger, the plunderings, desolations and insults of the British armies, in their marches through the various parts of our country. Congress, conformably to a treaty stipulation, had recommended to the several States, then independent sovereignties, to restore the forfeited estates of the tories, or to give them an equivalent for their losses; but the recommendation was, in some instances, altogether disregarded, and in others very partially complied with. The British, on their part, refused to give up the forts which they held on the frontiers of our country, to indemnify the owners of the slaves who had been carried away by their armies, and they would enter into no commercial arrangements with us.

Still, the universal love of money would have given us a measure of commerce, both with Britain and other European nations, if we had been in a situation to be commercial. But we were not—we were exhausted by the revolutionary war; we owed a heavy debt to France, and a much larger one to the disbanded officers and soldiers who had fought our battles, and we had no pecuniary resource but from a direct tax on land and

other real property, to which our citizens were generally and strongly opposed. Congress had in vain endeavoured to persuade the several States to cede to that body the exclusive right of raising a revenue by a tariff on importations. It was manifest that unanimity in this matter was essential; since a free port in any one State of the Union would render the whole plan abortive. Rhode Island incurred much censure by an obstinate refusal to make the requisite concession. A merchant said in my hearing, that when a stranger wished to be introduced to him, he asked at once—"Are you, sir, from Rhode Island?" and if the answer was affirmative, he refused to take him by the hand, or to have any intercourse with him—an extreme case certainly, but marking a feeling in which many, in different degrees, participated.

In the mean time, there was no adequate medium of commerce. The old continental currency had for some years become defunct; the precious metals being scarce, were chiefly in a few hands, and were often hoarded. Our late depreciated bank bills have reminded me of what I witnessed fifty-six years ago. The evils indeed, did not then proceed from bank bills, for there was at that time but one bank, that of North America, in the whole United States. But the popular clamour was, for the issuing of paper money by the State legislatures. Although they had seen the fate of the continental bills, and might have known that paper of any kind which cannot be converted into coin must eventually depreciate, and that they must be taxed for its redemption, yet the popular voice prevailed. Some men who saw the impending mischief, still thought

that the danger of a popular insurrection was so great that it was the less of two evils to give the populace what they demanded; and accordingly in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and perhaps in some other States paper money was issued. In Massachusetts the distress of the times produced an open rebellion. Its aspect was for a short period very threatening; for the number concerned was considerable, and they arrayed themselves in military attitude under a leader by the name of Shays. It was, however, ultimately quelled without bloodshed, by the firmness, skill, and prudence of General Lincoln, who commanded the detachment of militia sent for the purpose by the government of the State. It was about this time that Dr. Wither-
spoon published his *Essay on Money*, which unquestionably had a degree of salutary influence, and which met with great approbation from men of enlightened minds. But it was easier to point out what was wrong and calculated to make bad worse, than to prescribe a practical and effectual remedy for the grievous evils which existed. The fact was, that the whole community was in a state of suffering and depression. Industry was discouraged; there was no adequate stimulus to prompt it; its surplus products were of little value. I purchased the best oak wood for the winter supply of my family for fifteen shillings, or two dollars a cord. In a word, exertion was palsied; there was no patronage for enterprise, no spirit for cultivating the useful arts, and gloomy forebodings pervaded the country. Even the surviving patriots of the revolution and the wisest men in our land, were for a time at a stand; and not a few of them were filled with fearful apprehen-

sions, lest after the sacrifices which had been made, and the glorious termination of the conflict for liberty which had been achieved, the boon, when in possession, would not prove a real blessing; that the country would not be able to pay its debts, that discontent would produce popular convulsions, that we should become the scoff and scorn of the enemies of freedom, and perhaps at last be subjected to a foreign or domestic tyrant. I have heretofore remarked, that it was this state of things that induced Charles Thompson, the perpetual secretary of the old continental congress, to seek the soothing of his gloomy feelings, by devoting himself to the translation of the Septuagint, and the original of the New Testament.

It was happy for us that the father of our country was still living and active, and that there were more than a few men, like minded with himself, who at length resolved to make a great effort to put a new aspect on our whole political and domestic condition. This led to the measures which issued in the Federal Convention, in the calling and conducting of which no man had a greater agency than James Madison, subsequently President of the United States.

If you wish to see by what steps of gradual advance the Federal Convention came into being, you have only to consult "the Madison papers" at large; and especially the "Introduction to the debates in the Convention." All that I have said in this letter, preceding the last sentence, was written before I had ever seen those papers, which did not come into my hands till yesterday; so that I can truly say, that I have stated only my own reminiscences. But I am certainly much

gratified at finding that my short statement is confirmed by the large details of Mr. Madison.

After the publication of the constitution agreed on by the convention, it became the subject of much private discussion, of essays *pro* and *con* in the newspapers, and of ardent debate in the legislatures and conventions of the individual States of the Union. For a time, it was dubious whether it would be ultimately adopted or rejected. Its friends were denominated Federalists, and its opposers anti-federalists. The latter class eventually chose to be known by the name of Republicans; and these appellations were long continued, and hence the well known and often repeated sentence of Mr. Jefferson, in his first address after his election to the presidency: "We are all Federalists, we are all Republicans." Messrs. Jay, Madison, and Hamilton, made an agreement, kept secret for a while, to write and publish a series of essays entitled *The Federalist*, explaining and vindicating the several articles of the constitution. Mr. Francis Hopkinson, also, one of the signers of the declaration of our national independence, wrote and published a piece to which he gave the title, *The New Roof*; the drift of which was to ridicule and show the absurdity of all the allegations and objections of the anti-federalists. These were the most popular and durable publications on one side of the question; on the other side they were numerous, but so ephemeral that I cannot now recollect the title or specific character of one of them. In fine, time, discussion and reflection gradually increased the number of the friends of the new constitution, till at length it was adopted by nine States, the number required by

the constitution itself to give it efficiency ; and the first congress under it met in New York on the 10th of April, 1789.

How much reason, my son, have the people of this country to mark with devout gratitude to God, the very numerous and signal instances of the favourable interpositions of his providence in their behalf. These instances were seen so impressively by General Washington, that he omitted no proper opportunity to notice them publicly. But what he did not notice, and perhaps never thought of, he was himself among the most precious blessings that a benignant Providence ever bestowed on a nation. God had endowed him with a rare combination of qualities fitting him pre-eminently for the part he was destined to act, and preserved him in safety and health, in war and peace, till the existing happy constitution of our country was established and put into action under his auspices. But there has recently been throughout our land, not only such a general prostration of morals, but such an outbreaking of enormous crimes of every description, as to excite in every pious mind the most serious fears that the interposition of heaven in our favour may be withdrawn, at least for a season. Let those who believe that national as well as individual prosperity must come from God, earnestly supplicate his mercy to deliver us from our sins, as essentially necessary to a preservation from his frowns. Affectionately, adieu.

P——, SEPTEMBER 10, 1842.

MY DEAR SON—It appears by documents which I have consulted, that a quorum of congress assembled

in New York on the 10th of April of the year just mentioned; that their first business was to examine the votes for President and Vice President; that they found that George Washington and John Adams were elected to these offices, severally; that General Washington received the intelligence of this fact on the 14th of that month; that with all practicable speed he repaired to New York, and that on the 30th of April he and Mr. Adams were inaugurated into the offices to which they had been chosen—the former by an unanimous vote.

In the present letter I propose to state my reminiscences of what took place on Washington's journey from Mount Vernon, till the time of his entering on his official duties in New York. My labour in doing this will be abridged—which, at my time of life, is a welcome relief—by quotations from the last chapter of Ramsay's History of the American Revolution. What he states is in substance what I well remember. A few remarks of my own will be interspersed as we proceed, and be subjoined at the close. The quotation from Ramsay is as follows:

“Gray's bridge over the Schuylkill, which Mr. Washington had to pass, was highly decorated with laurels and evergreens. At each end of it were erected magnificent arches, composed of laurels, emblematical of the ancient Roman triumphal arches; and on each side of the bridge was a laurel shrubbery. As Mr. Washington passed the bridge, a youth, ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by machinery, let drop above his head, though unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel.”

Upwards of twenty thousand citizens lined the fences, fields and avenues between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through these, he was conducted to the city by a numerous and respectable body of the citizens, where he partook of an elegant entertainment provided for him.* The pleasures of the day were succeeded by a handsome display of fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Washington crossed the Delaware and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge by the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed in large figures, DECEMBER 26, 1776. On the sweep of the arch beneath, was this inscription: THE DEFENDERS OF THE MOTHERS WILL ALSO PROTECT THE DAUGHTERS. On the north side were ranged a number of young misses dressed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms; in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies of the town. The instant he passed the arch, the young misses began to sing the following ode:

Welcome mighty chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe,
Aims again the fatal blow—
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

* At this entertainment I was an invited guest, and was formally introduced to the President.

Virgins fair and matrons grave,
These thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers ;
Strew ye fair his way with flowers—
Strew your hero's way with flowers.*

As they sung the last lines, they strewed their flowers on the road, before their beloved deliverer. His situation, on this occasion, contrasted with what he had in December 1776 felt on the same spot, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled him with sensations that cannot be described.

He was rowed across the bay from Elizabethtown to New York in an elegant barge, by thirteen pilots. All the vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags. Stairs were erected and decorated for his reception. On his landing, universal joy diffused itself through every order of the people; and he was received and congratulated by the governor of the State, and officers of the corporation. He was conducted from the landing place to the house which had been fitted up for his reception, and was followed by an elegant procession of militia in their uniforms, and by great numbers of citizens. In the evening, the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated.

A day was fixed soon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words—
“I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the

* Governor Howell was the reputed author of this beautiful ode, and probably planned the whole arrangement. He had been an officer in the army under Washington.

best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States." On this occasion he was wholly clothed in American manufactures. On the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy of different denominations assembled in their respective places of worship, and offered up public prayers for the President and people of the United States. About noon, a procession followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the President's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance of the hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which Mr. Washington, accompanied by the Vice President, Mr. John Adams, passed into the Senate chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by both Houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad street, and before them and an immense concourse of citizens, took the oath prescribed by the constitution, which was administered by R. R. Livingston, the chancellor of the state of New York. An awful silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the most sublime joy. The chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States. This was answered by the discharge of thirteen guns, and by the effusion of shouts from near ten thousand grateful and affectionate hearts. The President bowed most respectfully to the people, and the air again resounded with their acclamations. He then retired to the Senate chamber, where he made the following speech to both Houses.

I am sorry that the length of this speech forbids me to insert it *in extenso*; yet I cannot deny myself the pleasure, nor you the advantage, of transcribing two or

three extracts. The first shall consist of the unparalleled modesty, humility I should rather call it, with which he thus speaks of himself:

“The magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondency one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected.” His own and his country’s dependence on the benediction of Almighty God, are thus recognized. “It would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect—that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves, for these essential purposes; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the

people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none, under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence."

How much to be regretted is it, that the repudiating States of our land had not been governed by the sentiments expressed in the following sentences of the father of our country. "There is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded, that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself ordains."

The address concludes in the following solemn manner: "Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since He has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so this divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend." The historian immediately adds, "The president of congress then attended on divine service."

What a distinct and repeated recognition have we, in this address of President Washington, of the divine superintendence and influence in all human concerns, both public and private. Happy would it have been for our country, if all its chief magistrates had in this respect followed the example of the first. Had such been the fact, and had our citizens yielded themselves to the counsels of those in supreme authority, very far different would have been our moral condition, and consequent prosperous state, from that which we now mournfully witness. Remembering, as I do, the various and perplexing exigencies of our revolutionary war, and those which have since taken place in our public affairs, I solemnly aver, that in my humble judgment, I have seen no period so gloomy as that which has recently existed—a period of such disunion in the public coun-

cils, such a recklessness of party spirit, such a loss of confidence between man and man in the plighted faith of the community; such violations of sacred trusts and contracts, such astounding instances of flagitious crime—of murders, assassinations, suicides, duels, robberies, thefts, and of whatever else is calculated to offend the Most High, and bring his sore inflictions on a people regardless alike of his laws and of their own best interests. That his displeasure rests upon us, and that he is making our own vices the rod of his chastisement, is obvious to all, who are not morally blind. Yet let us not despair of our country; for there are still indications that she is destined to a great agency in enlightening and reforming the world. But let the religious community awake to its situation; let there be, among all denominations of evangelical Christians, a combination of prayer and effort, in the pressingly needful work of resisting vice, and promoting reformation. This is our duty, and if we duly perform it, we may trust in God that he will yet make the United States the glory of all lands. Affectionately, adieu.

P——, SEPTEMBER 20, 1842.

MY DEAR SON—There are four more items to which my reminiscences extend, relative to events cotemporaneous with the commencement of operations under the present constitution of the United States, which I think are of sufficient importance to be stated, and to which I shall call your attention in this letter; and then, if life and health permit, proceed to other subjects.

1. Ramsay states that the contrast between the circumstances of Washington in 1776, and those at the

time when, in the same place, he was hailed in song and his way strewn with flowers, as he passed under a triumphal arch, "filled him with sensations not to be described." This is no doubt true, but I have a small matter to state, which as far as I know, has not appeared in history. You know that a considerable part of Trenton lies between two hills, the one in the main road leading from Princeton, the other on the south west side of the Assanpink creek. The British troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis had advanced from Princeton, easily vanquishing the feeble opposition that they met with, and had planted their artillery on the hill a little within the entrance of the town. Washington had concentrated his whole force on the westerly side of the creek, and placed his artillery on the hill which rises from its margin, and a brisk cannonade was going on between the hostile armies. These things being premised, I am prepared to repeat, as nearly as I can recollect it, what was told me by an officer of the American army, whose credibility I had no reason to question. He said that Washington selected a corps of his best men, and stationed them at the only bridge over the creek within the town—a wooden bridge, from which the planks that covered the sleepers had been removed. The officer to whom the command of the picked corps was entrusted, if I recollect rightly, was of the name of Parker, and on leaving him, Washington said, "Mr. Parker, you will understand that I expect this pass to be well defended." "Sir," replied Parker, "we mean to lie down upon it." "That's right," said the General. He then rode to his artillery, and facing the enemy, remained in the direct

range of their cannon shot. Some of his officers importuned him to go over the brow of the hill, where his personal exposure would not be so great. But he absolutely refused to change his position, assigning as the reason, that his remaining where he was might be of use to encourage the artillery men, who were firing on the enemy. The officers, however, imputed it to another cause; they thought that he was waiting and wishing for a cannon ball to terminate his life and his anxieties together. This, of course, was only an opinion; but an opinion derived from the apparently desperate state of the American army, at that critical hour. For had the suggestion of Sir William Erskine to Lord Cornwallis been adopted, which was, that before the British troops retired to their quarters, he should compel Washington to a decisive battle, humanly speaking, the cause was desperate. All depended on gaining the fight. For myself, I do not believe that the opinion of the officers that has been mentioned, was well founded. Washington probably judged rightly, that his exposed situation was of great use to encourage his men; and he never refused to face the most appalling danger, when by doing so he could serve his country. Beside, his danger at the bridge of Trenton was far less than in the battle of Princeton, on the following morning, when, for a considerable time, he was between the musket firing of the enemy and of his own troops. His trust, in both instances, was, I doubt not, in the protecting providence of God, which he was wont so frequently and impressively to acknowledge. Not that he supposed, as the Indians are said to have done, at the time of Brad-

dock's defeat, that a musket or rifle ball could not kill him. No, he was careful never to embark in any cause which he did not deliberately believe to be a righteous one; and having done so, he fearlessly performed his duty, leaving it to the Sovereign Disposer of all events to decide whether he should live or die. This was true courage, a quality which he possessed in as great a degree as any human being that ever breathed. It certainly was remarkable, though not singular, that in all the dangers through which he passed in his military career, he was never wounded. But it was not wonderful that when, as President of the United States, and amidst the plaudits of the whole country, he arrived at the bridge of Trenton, now adorned with a triumphal arch, and the softer sex hailing him as their deliverer, the recollection of the contrast formed by this scene, and that which he witnessed in 1776, should fill him with indescribable sensations—I think it was stated at the time that he wept freely.

2. A little before the meeting of the first congress, under the present constitution of the United States, there was in Philadelphia a federal procession, which attracted much attention. Processions have since become familiar; but the one now in view was at the time it occurred a novelty; nothing of the kind so far as I know having ever before taken place in the city. If, indeed, the character merely of this procession be considered, I am not aware that any thing similar has ever yet been seen in Philadelphia. Its design was to express publicly an approbation of the new constitution, by all classes of the community, from the day labourer

to the highest functionary of the commonwealth; and this design was successfully carried out in the execution. A small, but elegant structure, denominated the Temple of Liberty, was erected on an elevated site at Bush Hill. The procession was formed in the city, and its course was directed to the temple, in the porch of which stood the orator of the day, James Wilson, Esq., afterwards an associate judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Although the city was then not more than one-third as populous as it now is, yet, as every man, whether of a sacred or secular vocation, had a right to make a part of it, and the greater number of all classes actually exercised that right, when the front of the procession reached Bush Hill, the rear had scarcely left the city. Of the enormous multitude which on all sides surrounded the temple of liberty, but few could distinctly hear and understand the speaker. My location was such, that not many of his words were audible. I therefore did not wait for his peroration; but after looking and listening for some time, followed the example of many others, and made for my home—at which, when I arrived, I found myself nearly as much exhausted by fatigue, as I had formerly been in any one of my military marches.

3. At the period we contemplate, I made a part of a company, in which a conversation took place, the report of which I think you will receive with some interest. Dr. William Shippen, the first professor, and for a long time an eminent one, in the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, had for his wife a lady of Virginia. It was, I suppose, in consequence of this,

that when the Virginia delegation to the first congress arrived in Philadelphia, on their way to New York, he invited some of the members of that delegation, or perhaps the whole of them, to a dinner at his own house. I remember the names of Madison, Page and Lee, and I think there were one or two more. Chief Justice McKean, afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania, and Mr. William Bingham, subsequently a member of the United States Senate, were likewise invited guests; and as the doctor was a member of my congregation, he also honoured me with an invitation. Soon after we had taken our seats in the drawing room, before dinner, the Chief Justice said to Mr. Madison—"Have you thought, sir, of a title for our new President?" Madison's answer was in the negative; and he added, that in his judgment, no title, except that of President, would be necessary or proper. "Yes, sir," replied McKean, "he must have a title; and I have been examining the titles of certain princes in Europe, to discover one that has not been appropriated. *Most Serene Highness*, I find is appropriated; but *Serene Highness*, without the word *most*, is not appropriated; and I think it will be proper that our President should be known by the style and title of *His Serene Highness, the President of the United States*." This elicited an amicable controversy, which continued for some time, Madison and his colleagues opposing, and McKean maintaining the propriety of conferring the title he had proposed on President Washington. At the table the controversy was dropped, and a variety of other topics were discussed, of which I remember little, and shall say nothing. But my reminiscence of what I

have stated about a title for the President, is full and distinct; and I mention it to show what were the cogitations of different men, in regard to him who should hold the office of chief magistrate of the American Union, at the time when that office had been recently created, and no action on it had as yet taken place.

4. The location of the Federal City. The men of the present generation have no just conception of the excitement produced by this subject, during the discussion of it in congress. The agitation it caused extended throughout the whole country. It was once decided, and afterwards the decision repealed. When it had thus become again an open question, Dr. Wither-
spoon wrote and published a short essay, the scope of which was to urge a delay in attempting to settle it, lest the attempt should produce a mischievous, if not a fatal disunion. "If I am rightly informed," said he, "the disputes that have already taken place in congress upon this subject, have been carried on with greater virulence of temper, and acrimony of expression, than on any other that has been under deliberation." The point at issue was between a northern or a southern location. The west, which in a few years from the present time, will probably have a commanding majority in our national house of representatives, was but little regarded. Ohio did not then exist as a State; her population, according to Morse, in 1791, two years after the question of location was decided, was but three thousand. Kentucky was then our most westerly State, and she was still in the cradle. Her population, according to the former authority, was less than seventy-four thou-

sand. But the north and the south carried on the conflict, and each obtained as many votes as possible in the national legislature. You are aware how the matter was finally settled, by deciding that congress should sit for ten years in Philadelphia, and then be permanently located in what is now the federal city. It was in 1790 that congress, under the present constitution, first met in Philadelphia—of course the removal to Washington was in 1800.

I will mention an incident of which I was credibly informed, when the public excitement in regard to this subject was at its height. President Washington was suspected, unjustly as I believe, to favour secretly the location of the federal city in its present site, as being near to his residence and property. In this state of things, a gentleman, who shall be nameless, took an opportunity to say, in a company of which the President made a part, and in which the question of location was discussed, "I know very well where the federal city *ought* to be." "Where then," asked the President, "would you fix it?" "In such a place," (describing it) was the reply. "And why are you so sure that it ought to be there?" inquired the President. "For the most satisfactory of all reasons—because nearly the whole of *my property* lies in that place and its neighbourhood," was the answer. The President was supposed to understand the allusion, and to be offended by it.

Affectionately adieu.

CHAPTER XI.

1787.

P——, OCTOBER 15th, 1842.

BEFORE our revolutionary war, churches in the British colonies were little else than appendages to churches of a like character in the mother country. When I was preparing for the gospel ministry, I was directed to read the Scotch collections of Steuart of Pardovan, as a book of authority on the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church. But soon after the peace which confirmed our national independence, measures were taken almost coterminously by the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Low Dutch Churches, to modify their ecclesiastical constitutions, so as to render them independent of all foreign connexions; and to conform them as far as should seem necessary, to the civil institutions of the United States. Dr. White, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Provoost, of New York, obtained consecration as bishops, in England, in the month of February, 1787, returned to this country, and commenced the exercise of their episcopal functions in April of that year. The General Synod of the Dutch Church, after previous measures taken in several successive years, adopted and published "The Constitution of the Reformed Dutch Church in the United States," in October, 1792. In the Presbyterian Church, as early as the annual meeting of the Synod in May, 1785, a

committee was appointed to prepare the form of a constitution for that church, to be submitted to the Synod of the following year. On receiving the report of the committee, the Synod of 1786 referred it to another committee, to meet in the autumn of that year, with powers to digest a constitution for the Presbyterian Church, to print the same, and to send copies to all the Presbyteries belonging to the Synod; requiring each Presbytery to report their observations in writing to the Synod of 1787. The last mentioned Synod, after reading and considering the draught of the committee of the preceding year, and availing itself of the written suggestions of the Presbyteries, issued another pamphlet, containing a more complete system than the former one, and ordered a thousand copies to be distributed to the several Presbyteries. The system contained in this latter pamphlet, formed the basis of the deliberations of the Synod of 1788, which issued in the formation and publication of "The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: containing the Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, the Government and Discipline, and the Directory for the worship of God—ratified and adopted by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia May the 16th, 1788, and continued by adjournments until the 28th of the same month." The foregoing is the title-page of the first edition of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church that was printed.

It seems proper that I should inform you, that (so far as the Presbyterian Church is concerned,) I am now writing of transactions in which I had a *personal agency*; otherwise you might wonder at the minute-

ness with which I am able to mention a number of particulars. For some facts, and for dates in general, I am, indeed, indebted to printed documents; but for the rest, I rely entirely on my memory; which, as I was in the prime and vigour of life when the occurrences I mention took place, and considering my professional pursuits, could not but impress my mind strongly and deeply. Without much regard to order I shall mention a number of facts which took place, both before the constitution was adopted, and during the discussions of the Synod that passed the adopting act.

I begin with stating, that both the draughts of a constitution which were sent to the Presbyteries, were by the Synods of the following years very carefully considered by paragraphs; and that many articles of the constitution as finally sanctioned, remain as then agreed on. Of both these draughts I have preserved copies among my bound pamphlets—of the first in vol. 6, of the second in vol. 13. Perhaps you may hereafter gratify some collector of historical documents, by a sight of these pamphlets.

In both the draughts transmitted to the Presbyteries, the Supreme Judicature of the Presbyterian Church was styled a "General Council," although it was denominated a "General Assembly," in the minutes of the Synod by which the committees were appointed that formed these draughts. In the adopting Synod, the question was distinctly raised and decided by vote, "Shall the Supreme Judicatory be denominated a General Council, or a General Assembly?" and my surprise was not small when I heard Dr. Witherspoon vote for a General Council. I voted with the majority,

which was considerable, for a General Assembly. Dr. Witherspoon had been on both committees that formed the draughts, and how much influence this might have on his final vote, I know not.

No part of the Confession of Faith was altered, except that which relates to civil government and the civil magistrate. The Scotch Confession having been formed for a nation in which the church and state are united, declares that "the civil magistrate hath power to call Synods, and to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God." In place of this, the Synod that adopted the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States declared, that "it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the Church of our common Lord, without giving preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever, shall enjoy the full, free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger." Some minor alterations were made in the Scotch Confession, but all of the same import as the above. You see, then, how unfounded and senseless has been the cry, that the Presbyterian Church has been seeking governmental patronage. This can never be done, but in open violation of an established principle of the standards of that Church. Nay, I verily believe, that if there were no constitutional article on the subject, that Church would consider any connexion with the State whatever, as a calamity and a curse. This may be as proper a place as any other to mention, that when, through mere oversight, the members of the

adopting Synod were just going to take the final vote on the catechisms of the Church, *without alteration*, the Rev. Jacob Ker, of the state of Delaware, (I well remember his name, and think that he had very seldom spoken before,) arrested the proceedings, by calling attention to a clause in the Larger Catechism, in answer to the question, "What are the sins forbidden in the second commandment?" He stated that the catechism as it then stood, specified among the sins forbidden in this commandment, "tolerating a false religion," and he made a motion to strike out this clause. My impression is, that this motion was carried without debate, and by a unanimous vote.

The draught of 1787, which formed the basis of discussion that issued in adopting the Constitution, contained, in the Directory for the worship of God, a number of forms of prayer. A question was raised, whether those forms should stand as they appeared in the draught, or whether the several parts and subjects of prayer should be stated *in thesi*, or in a doctrinal form. The latter method was carried by a majority; but I voted for a retention of the forms, assigning for reason, that an exemplification of any matter of instruction, I considered as the best method of making it intelligible and plain. The idea of a confinement to forms of any description was entertained by no one. As I have mentioned one occasion in which I spoke in this Synod, I will add, that to the best of my recollection, my speeches in all, did not exceed two or three, and neither of them of more than five minutes in length. I was young, and felt that wiser heads than

my own ought to lead in so important a concern as forming a constitution for a church of Christ.

You cannot but have observed that the utmost care and pains were taken in preparing the constitution that was finally adopted. It was under consideration for three years; repeated draughts of it, after being amended by the Synod, were sent to the Presbyteries, and by them reported on in writing. This was done for the double purpose of perfecting the instrument, and of satisfying, as far as possible, all the parties concerned. Yet at last, entire cordiality was not effected. There was a small minority, whose leanings toward Congregationalism were such, that they would have been better pleased, if the system adopted had been less strictly Presbyterian. One clergyman, who had been on both committees for preparing draughts, and who was kept at home by indisposition, addressed a letter to the adopting Synod, strongly objecting against a high toned Presbyterian system. The letter was read, laid on the table, and never called up. In passing the adopting act, I do not remember that a single negative vote was given, and if there had been one, I am pretty confident I should not have forgotten it. Possibly there were a few who did not vote at all. But the majority was decisive and overwhelming.

In closing this number of my reminiscences it may not be improper to mention, that for a considerable time past I have been the only surviving member of the Synod that adopted the constitution of the Church to which I belong; and in which I have ministered for something more than fifty-five years. Why I have thus been spared, while all my fellow members have

finished their labours on earth, and gone, as I hope, to their rest and reward, is known only to the Sovereign Disposer of life and death. Among the promises made in Holy Scripture to him who makes God his refuge, this is one: "With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation." The truth of the first part of this promise I have already realized; and I cherish a humble hope, that in due time, I shall experience the fulfilment of the remainder. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits; who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies; who satisfieth thy mouth with good things, so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's." So pertinent a passage of the oracles of inspiration—pertinent to my state and circumstances—I could not forbear to transcribe.

Affectionately adieu.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE YEAR 1787 TO 1791.

HERE my published reminiscences terminate; but there are some facts relative to my settlement in Philadelphia, and for several years subsequently, which, in writing my life, I think I ought not to omit.

The salary promised me in my call was made up by individual subscriptions, and not by a corporate pledge. Its amount was three hundred pounds, or eight hundred dollars, with an additional hundred pounds, if I rightly recollect, to defray the expenses of my removal from Princeton. A friend assured me that I could not support a family in the city, on the salary offered; and advised me to reject the call. But having renounced the practice of the law, and with it the prospect of wealth, I believed that if I was faithful in the performance of my ministerial duties, I should not be left to want. My wife, I knew, was as well adapted, and disposed as any other woman, to make much of a little, and withal, a good appearance with that little; so that I made no pecuniary objection whatever. My friends in the city had taken a house for me, which had formerly been occupied by Charles Thompson, the noted secretary of the old congress. My rent was to be forty-eight pounds, or one hundred and twenty dollars a year. My wife, with a view to my being entirely devoted to my studies, and my sacred vocation, voluntarily took

the management of all my secular concerns, except the purchase of wood at the wharf, to which she thought it indecorous for her to go. But during her life I never went to market for the family, but twice or thrice, when she was sick; and on one of these occasions I made a palpable blunder. My salary, small as it was, was not at first punctually paid; a common complaint to this day of the clergy of our church, to the great reproach and serious injury of the congregations they serve. It was about the fourth or fifth year of my ministry, that the corporation of the church that I served formed a financial committee of their most intelligent and capable men; who made such arrangements and exertions, that they paid a debt of eight hundred dollars, assumed my salary as a corporate charge, settled and paid the arrearages that were due to my colleague, and put their pecuniary concerns in such order, that thenceforward our salaries were fully paid, commonly on the very day that they became due. But till this was done, I was sometimes greatly embarrassed. I remember that on one occasion my wife told me—and she did it without murmuring—that she was without money to go to market, and without a stick of fire wood in the house. I went out immediately, and was fortunate enough to meet, in the street, an elder of the congregation, to whom I told the plain tale of our destitution. He was greatly mortified, and put his hand in his pocket and supplied me with money for our present relief, with a promise that our wants should in a short time be adequately supplied. It is but justice to the congregation to whom I ministered, to state that in the first part of the time that I served them, they

made me numerous presents; a piece of linen at one time; a quarter cask of wine at another; various articles of grocery, at several times, and even money occasionally. In one instance, when in changing the hour of worship, I had told the people that on the next Sabbath the exercises of the sanctuary would commence precisely at the hour which I specified, and although but few were present at that hour, I kept my promise and began the service. The next day I received by the friend of the donor, the present of a half johannes, for being as good as my word. I never knew from whom this gift came. I have been, through my long public life, a lover and practitioner of strict punctuality, and have often witnessed the good effects of its observance, and in still more instances, the evil effects of its non-observance. It is surely a breach of moral duty to trespass on the time and patience of others, and sometimes of the multitude, by the want of punctuality.

The difficulties attending collegiate pastoral charges, have nearly, if not wholly, banished them from the Presbyterian Church. Why is this? There certainly are congregations in our connexion that cannot be adequately served by a single pastor. The primitive church, even in the apostolic age, appear to have had more than one pastor. Collegiate charges were common at the period of the Protestant reformation. They are still common in Scotland, and in the Dutch Church of Holland, and in this country. For myself I can truly say, that of the three colleagues with whom I have been connected, I never had a difficulty with one of them. We lived together in uninterrupted brotherly affection and confidence. Let no pious minister consent to be

the colleague of a man whose piety he thinks very questionable. But with one of whose personal religion he has no doubt, let him make an agreement, that each shall pray earnestly for the other in the daily prayers that he offers for himself, and that each shall defend his colleague's character, as if it were his own, and there will be between such men very little danger of alienation. To this practice, and under the blessing of God, and not to my own prudence or good nature, I attribute my happiness in the several collegiate charges that I have sustained.

Dr. Sproat, my first colleague, was "an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile." His common appellation in addressing me was, "My, son," and if he had been a natural father, I could scarcely have loved and honoured him more than I did. I visited him very frequently, and in all cases, when an honourable distinction in our pastoral charge was to be made, and in appearance it belonged to me, I not only offered it to him, as his due, being senior pastor, but I insisted on his taking it. He had three unmarried daughters, and my wife so gained their confidence, that if she had been their own sister, they could hardly have loved her more, or have respected her so much.

My second colleague was the Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel. He had been my pupil both before he entered college, and during his whole academical course. It was therefore natural that I should love him, and that he should respect me, and this was verified in the whole course of our ministerial connexion, which indeed lasted only two or three years, when he accepted a call to the Dutch Church in New York.

But a warm friendship continued between us till the day of his death.

My last colleague was the Rev. Dr. Jacob J. Janeway. We were colleagues for thirteen years. It was with him, that I had an explicit understanding, that we should remember each other in our daily prayers, and treat each other's character, as if it were our own. The consequences were most happy. We laboured and loved as brethren during the whole period of our collegiate connexion, and an untroubled and ardent attachment has existed between us to the present hour. I still pray for him daily in my private devotions.

Before the revolutionary war of our country, the second Presbyterian congregation in the city began an establishment for public worship in the Northern Liberties, which was suspended during the progress of the war, and the small house, in which the religious services had been performed, was converted into a receptacle for military stores. My call to Philadelphia had for part of its professed object, a resuscitation of the establishment at Campington, a name derived from the military encampment which had existed in that location.

Between Dr. Sproat and myself the arrangement of our public services was made on the basis of perfect equality not only for ourselves, but the people we served—the avowed idea being, that our people all belonged to one and the same congregation, worshipping in two different places. But this arrangement lasted but for a single year. Those who worshipped in the city proper paid more than nine-tenths of our salaries, and they insisted on having a regular evening service

on the Sabbath, in addition to the two services during the day. The plan finally agreed upon was, that Dr. Sproat should preach statedly at Campington in the morning of the Lord's day, and in the city in the afternoon; that I should, morning and evening, in the city, and give the Campington people an evening service on every Wednesday. Thus one year after my ordination, and being still in feeble health, I was made responsible for three weekly services. It was the advice of my old master, Dr. Witherspoon, that I should not attempt to make more than one written preparation for the pulpit in a week. I therefore made no written preparation for my Wednesday evening service at Campington, but I took the resolution, that when I should feel at a loss for something to say, I would not be repetitious, or use what Dr. Rush used to call the clergyman's setting-pole, the frequent use of the words *I say*, but make a pause long enough to think in what manner I should proceed. On one occasion I got more credit for this practice than I deserved. On returning home once on a dark evening I overheard one of my female hearers saying to her companion in a tone of approbation, "did you not admire his pauses." The service at Campington was continued but six months. There was neither a regular pavement, nor any lamps in that part of the Northern Liberties, in which the house we used was situated, so that an evening service in winter was then deemed inexpedient. But besides this, the Sabbath evening service in the city was accessible to the most of my parishioners at Campington. For the morning service for which I was pledged, I got as much assistance as I could obtain from my clerical brethren, and

was not unfrequently blamed for doing so. But I thought the censure undeserved, and therefore did not change my practice. The evening service, in preparation for which I commonly spent four days of the week in diligent study, was almost always performed wholly by myself; except when the General Assembly was in session, at which time the members of that body occupied all the pulpits of our denomination in the city. Dr. Witherspoon once, Dr. Smith twice or thrice, Mr. Gemmil several times, the Rev. Daniel Jones, whose elocution had rendered him famous, are the only individuals whom I can distinctly recollect as having offered me aid in the five or six years in which I was expected to perform this service. It was numerously attended not only by members of the congregation, but by many strangers. Sometimes the throng was so great that not only the stairs leading to the galleries were occupied, but benches were placed in the isles of the church for the accommodation of the hearers. The attention was often so profound, that at the suspension of my voice, I could hear the beating of seconds by the clock in front of the gallery.

Some of my people had urged me to preach on the thorny points of theology. I refused for a time, but at length resolved to select a text for a series of discourses that should include all the points contemplated. The text chosen was 2 Peter iii. 16, confining myself to the words, "in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do the other scriptures also, to their own destruction." On this text I preached four or five sermons on—I. The darkness and ambiguity of the scrip-

ture prophecy. II. The mysteries of the Christian religion. III. The doctrines of God's sovereignty, predestination and election. IV. The doctrines of grace, regeneration, &c. V. Cautioning all who heard me not to pervert any of these doctrines to their own destruction. One cause of my reluctance to discuss these topics in the pulpit was, apprehension that they would be dry and uninteresting to a popular audience. But in this I made a great mistake. It seemed as if everybody was anxious to hear of *things hard to be understood*; and the house was crowded to excess after the first discourse, in which I promised that I would tell my audience both what I did know and what I did not know. On the mysteries of our faith, this was easily done; but on the doctrine of God's sovereignty, the people seemed to be astonished that I should tell them explicitly, that I held to the absolute sovereignty of God in his purpose and providence, and likewise to the perfect freedom of will and action of every moral and responsible being; and yet that I could not reconcile these two things—could not explain how they were consistent with each other, while I firmly believed them both. The doctrine of grace I did not admit to be harder to be understood than many things to which we readily assent, or facts which we constantly witness. The discourses appeared to do some good at the time of their delivery, and I was urged to repeat the whole series, but I never did; and I here forbid their future publication.

A law existed against theatrical exhibitions in the state of Pennsylvania for the first two or three years of my residence in Philadelphia. Whether this law was

passed before our revolutionary war or during its continuance, I am not certain. It was evaded in some measure, but never to the extent of formal acting of a tragedy or comedy. But as the state legislation then held its sittings in the city, the friends of the theatre made an earnest and combined effort to get the law repealed. But they were vigorously opposed, chiefly by the Friends or Quakers, and the Presbyterians; yet Bishop White came forth on this occasion with as much zeal as any other individual, and consented without hesitation to hand in to the legislature our remonstrance against the repeal of the law. For myself, I was active enough in the concern to bring on myself an attack in the public newspaper. They who wished for a repeal of the law placed their chief dependence for its advocacy on a lawyer by the name of Lewis, who was a member of the legislature. This became known to the man with whom Lewis had studied law, a distinguished Quaker by the name of Nicholas Waln; who, as I was well informed, called on him and addressed him thus: "Friend Lewis, I come to thee as a messenger from the Almighty God, and charge thee on the peril of thy soul, not to open thy lips in behalf of that accursed business;" referring to the repeal of the law. Lewis notwithstanding advocated the repeal with all his powers, and was successful—the law was repealed. It so happened that the committee of the friends of the theatre, and our committee, of whom I was one, were both before the legislature at the same time, and on retiring were mingled together. General Steward, a very zealous theatre man, accosted Bishop White as follows: "I am sorry, Bishop White, that the head of

our church is against the members in this affair." "I hope you are in error, in saying that," responded the bishop: "I hope the members are with the head in this matter." "I assure you, sir," replied the General with animation, "I assure you, sir, that some of the pillars of your church wish this law to be repealed." "Poh! poh! General, those must be outside and rotten pillars," said the bishop; "the pillars that support the building must be with me."

After the awful pestilence of 1793, another effort was made for the suppression of the theatre, and I wrote and published an essay on the subject. But it was all in vain. The theatre is fastened on the city; and unless some great and general revival of religion shall destroy it, it will probably prove a nursery of vice till the millennial age.

By the appointment of the Synod that ratified the constitution of the Presbyterian Church, Dr. Wither-
spoon opened the first General Assembly with a sermon, in 1789; and presided till a new moderator was chosen.

That office was conferred on the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers. As the first congress of the United States, under the present constitution, was then in session in New York city, and many, perhaps most of the church-going members, worshipped with the congregation under the pastoral care of Dr. Rodgers, he was very solicitous that his pulpit should be regularly supplied during his absence in the Assembly. He therefore requested me to go on to New York, live in his family, and perform all public services for which he was responsible; engaging at the same time that he would

do the same for me in Philadelphia. His request was complied with, and I spent about ten days very pleasantly in New York. Dr. Rodgers' congregation were at this time looking out for a colleague for him, and soon after my return home, my friend Ebenezer Hazard wrote me a letter stating that my name was mentioned as a candidate for the contemplated collegiate charge; and earnestly requesting me, if I was not disposed to favour the movement, to give it a decided negative. I immediately wrote in answer, that no consideration could take me from the people whom I served, and that any attempt to do it would most surely prove abortive. Ministerial coquetry I have always abhorred.

Of the second General Assembly, that of 1790, I was myself a member; and as I had been informed, (I do not recollect by whom—probably by my father, or Dr. Sproat,) that good had resulted from a convention of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers before our revolutionary war, I made a motion that the intercourse between us and the New England churches should, with their approbation, be renewed. I am responsible, therefore, for the correspondence between them and us, which has subsisted to the present time; but not for the liberty to vote, as well as speak, in the supreme ecclesiastical bodies of these churches severally. That measure has Dr. Rodgers for its author. Several years after the Assembly and the General Association of Connecticut had confined themselves to the right of deliberating merely, the good doctor thought it would be an improvement of the plan, to add the privilege of voting to that of speaking; and he made a motion to that effect. Our Congregational brethren readily as-

sented to it; as well they might, since their General Association is only an advisory body, while the acts of our General Assembly bind our whole Church. It is only a few years since, that (not without some difficulty,) the Congregationalists were persuaded to consent to return to the original plan of intercourse.

It was just at the close of this first General Assembly, of which I was a member, that I received a letter from my mother, informing me of the extreme illness of my father. The conveyance of letters by mail was not then as rapid as it is at present; and although I went as fast as I could to the place of my nativity, my father was dead and buried before my arrival. He died in the midst, or rather near the close, of a general revival of religion in his congregation. A very considerable number of persons, under deep religious impressions, came to converse with me on the state of their souls, during the few days I remained in the place. They had neglected to open their minds to my father before his decease, which some of them now sorely regretted. Meetings for public worship were frequent, not only on the Sabbath, but on secular days. It was on such a day that I preached a sermon which was attended by a remarkable circumstance. The congregation was large, and I resolved, without mentioning my purpose to any one, to make a special address to the youth, among whom I had passed the thoughtless days of my vanity. When in the course of my sermon, I began to execute my purpose, they rose in every part of the house, as if by impulse, and stood up till I had finished my address. Nothing of the kind had ever taken place in that congregation before; and perhaps it was to be attributed

in the first instance, to a few individuals thinking that as I was standing it would be improper for them to keep their seats; and that others seeing them erect, rose also, and thus made the rising general among the youth who were present. I was in the twenty-eighth year of my age at the time this occurrence took place; an occurrence which at first produced a little embarrassment, and then much animation, in the speaker. This religious revival was so quietly conducted, that a clergyman only nine miles distant told me that he had heard nothing of it till he went to attend my father's funeral.

In the summer of 1773, my father was visited with a sickness which brought him, in appearance, to the brink of the grave. On the afternoon of the day when his complaint was at the worst, a public lecture, at which several contiguous ministers attended, was to take place in his congregation. The ministers met, and in place of the usual exercises, spent the portion of time allotted to them in prayer with the people of his charge for the life of their pastor. On the evening of that day he took a solemn leave of his family, expecting to be in eternity before morning; an eternity which he contemplated with Christian triumph. But in the morning, to the surprise of friends and physicians, his disease was wonderfully abated; and his recovery was uncommonly rapid. The subject of the first discourse to his people, after he was able to preach, was the sickness and recovery of Hezekiah, and his "going up to the house of the Lord." I do not recollect the particular text of his sermon. He did not, at the time, tell the people of his charge, nor any body else, except my

mother, why he chose the subject I have mentioned; but the fact was that his mind was deeply impressed with the belief that his life had been lengthened in answer to prayer like that of Hezekiah, and also that, like him, the additional period would be fifteen years. The last time I ever saw him, before his death, on my urging him to visit me in Philadelphia, he remarked that the easiest mode of travelling for him—then in his sixty-eighth year—was in a sleigh, and that if his life and health were continued through the succeeding winter, and there should be, as there sometimes was, snow enough on the ground to render it probable that he might go to Philadelphia and return home in a sleigh, he would comply with my request and pay me a visit. But, said he, “my lease for my life will be out before the next winter.” I expressed my surprise that he who had always been remarkable for a superiority to prognostics of every kind, should yield himself to one at last; he replied, “that he could not rid his mind, if he should attempt it, of the impression it had received; that he did not place an absolute dependence on it; nor did he omit any duty in consequence of its existence.”

He died about a month before the end of the fifteenth year that the impression indicated. It did not appear that the impression, as is sometimes the case, produced the effect which it foreboded; as my father did not think that he was dangerously ill till a very short time before his dissolution. The influenza was the disease of which he died.

As I shall hereafter, in the course of my narrative, make many extracts from my diary, I think it proper that the introduction to it should form the first extract.

It is in these words: "Philadelphia, June 14th, 1790. I have neglected my diary since the 14th of March, 1783; and it is most probable I should never have resumed it again; at least I should not have done it at present, had it not been for the benefit I have received in the perusal of the diary kept by my father, who is lately dead. I am ready to imagine that there is no consideration that could tempt me to be ignorant of what I find in his manuscripts respecting his religious exercises, state and trials. He was esteemed by all who knew him as an eminent man of God, a thorough, discerning, experimental Christian. And yet what conflicts have passed in his mind! what trials, temptations, times of darkness and distance from God! Some of them, especially the temptations and trials, and the reflections which passed upon them, as so much like my own, that the same description would almost do for both; except that he certainly was more grieved, and humble and penitent than myself, and abased himself much more before his God than I have ever done. My father requests that this diary of his should be burned, and says he would have burned it himself, but that he found it useful to him as long as he lived. He evidently wrote it for no human eye but his own. He is extremely jealous and fearful of his heart, at the beginning of it, lest he should put down or colour something, through pride, and the apprehension that some person would, at some time or other, see and know what a sinner he was. These no doubt were just reflections; and the danger of pride and self-love, in all that concerns ourselves, is unspeakably great. Yet the circumstances of my father's diary being writ-

ten for no one but himself, is the very reason why I esteem it so much. It gives me confidence that it contains the very utterance of his heart, without palliation or disguise. Here then, is the point to which I am to attend. If I write my diary with the expectation that others will see it, this circumstance will be a temptation to give things a false colouring; nay, perhaps it may lead me to deceive myself in regard to my past exercises, and some occurrences of my life that may be very useful to remember exactly, and on the supposition that things happen thus, if the diary should at last be seen, it will be good for nothing; because it will not show my heart and life without disguise. On the contrary, if I resolve that it shall never be seen, by determining to destroy it, if possible, before my death, with my own hands, or by ordering in the most positive manner, those who may have the charge of my manuscripts, to burn it without reading, this will be to deprive others of a benefit which I have enjoyed myself—if indeed, anything I may write shall be of such a nature as to be really beneficial. On the whole, I think it best to resolve nothing absolutely on this point. My diary is certainly intended principally for myself. In order to make it useful, I must be thoroughly honest; let me realize likewise, that whenever what I write shall be read by others, (if it be read at all,) I shall then be in eternity; for in this life I do not intend to show it. Shall I leave on record a posthumous falsehood, which it will never be in my power to correct? Will not this be like committing a sin beyond the period of repentance? Oh! my soul, let me beware of this. Oh! my God! when I am stand-

ing in thy presence and need thy utmost grace in Jesus Christ to enable me to stand there with acceptance, let no falsehood be then crying to thy throne against me from this book. Oh! let me write as under thine eye, and as doing that for which I am to account at thy bar! Father of lights! enlighten my mind by thy Spirit, that I may have a just apprehension of myself, and a just conception of my exercises, that thus I may state them neither above nor below the truth, and neither deceive myself or others. I ask it, only for Christ Jesus' sake. Amen!"

At the time I recommenced my diary, as stated above, I did not write short hand, and had no expectation of ever learning or using it. Hence, for two years and a half my diary was legible to all who could read a manuscript. But after congress removed from New York to Philadelphia, a reporter of the debates which took place in the House of Representatives, published the system of short hand used by himself. This I obtained, and in a short time was able to use it in stating the principal occurrences of each day of my life when not sick, or so hurried with my occupations as to omit writing. My practice has been to keep my diary on three or four sheets of foolscap paper, folded in a quarto form; and I am now filling up the one hundred and sixth number of these pamphlets, written in short hand since the month of February, 1793, with the exception of a few pages that I wished others as well as myself to be able to read, for I have no belief that any individuals will ever attempt to decypher my short hand characters. There are indeed some parts so hastily or imperfectly written, as to be nearly or quite illegible to myself.

CHAPTER XIII.

1791.

IN the month of June, 1791, I set out on a journey through New England. I was low in health at the time, and my kind old colleague was warmly in favour of the journey; telling me (to adopt an expression which he used on the occasion,) that he was willing "to work double tides till my return," and that I had better go while he lived and was able to work, than to delay it till it would be difficult, after his death, to leave my charge.

TRAVELLING DIARY.

"June 6, 1791.—To-morrow, God willing, I expect to set out on a journey into New England. I think it will be useful for me to lay down some rules for the government of my own conduct, and to read them over every morning and evening.

Rule 1. To endeavour to promote, by every means in my power, the glory of God. Hence I must preach as much and as often as I can; and endeavour to recommend religion to all whom I may have intercourse with, by my whole conversation and deportment, and I must endeavour constantly to have this rule in my memory and recollection.

2. Let me avoid talkativeness; and be as modest and unassuming as possible. Let no controversy on reli-

gious subjects make me lose my temper, or say any thing hastily, harshly, or severely.

3. Let me not deny any sentiments that I really hold, be the consequences what they may.

4. Let me, in answering questions or in giving relations, and in every thing else, keep vigorously and entirely to the simple truth; neither adding nor admitting any circumstance, so as to convey an idea of things in any degree different from what they really are.

5. Let me endeavour to suppress pride and vanity; and not endeavour to shine by an affectation of knowledge, or qualities which I do not possess. It is dangerous; it may bring me into absolute disgrace; it is very wicked.

6. Let me observe characters with all attention. This is a principal object of my journey. Let me try to learn something from every body I speak to.

7. Especially let me observe the state of society, and the peculiarities of manners in the places where I go.

8. Let me recollect in remarkable places the distinguished events that have taken place in them, and see all the vestiges and remains of them. Let me inquire the state and history of colleges; and endeavour to see their professors, masters, libraries and philosophical apparatus. Let me, where I can, ask who are the leading men and principal characters in any town. Let me observe the general face of the country—its soil, productions, &c., &c.

9. Let me pay a particular attention to the state of religious opinions, and see if I can trace the cause of them.

10. Let me not be disconcerted with difficulties in

my journey. Let me endeavour to keep up my spirits, and resolutely set about my business, in each particular place.

11. Let me not suffer the importunities of friends, or others, to break in on my own plans of travelling; but vigorously and constantly pursue them; denying with modesty, but at the same time with firmness.

12. Let me pay a personal and particular attention to my horse.

It seems proper that I should mention that I travelled in a sulkey, without a servant or a companion.

13. Let me endeavour to travel in the morning, and lie by in the heat of the day.

14. I am at a loss, whether to rebuke profaneness in watermen, servants, &c.; in general it is, I believe, best to give them some check.

15. Let me not neglect secret prayer; and always remember my family and congregation in it.

16. Let me try in every way to get improvement; by getting men to talk on their favourite topics; by making deductions from their opinions; by comparing them together; by pursuing hints which I may take from what they say; by retaining and remembering all the information they convey.

17. Let me not neglect to write to my wife as often as possible.

18. Let me not find fault with the peculiarities of places to their inhabitants. Let me not make comparisons to their disadvantage, and tell them things are much better in the place I came from. People will not bear this.

A number of these rules contain things which I

ought to be incapable of forgetting or neglecting; but I know for myself that the most obvious duties sometimes escape my attention. By examining myself on these rules, I shall be likely to remember, discover, correct, and avoid any errors and omissions; and I shall have my memory refreshed with a view of my business and duty."

The above rules, and the remark with which they are concluded, appear to have been very hastily written; and some of them are very incorrect in expression; but the intention of each of them is, I think, palpable; and I thought it would be best to give them *verbatim* as they were originally penned.

I cannot pretend to give all that my diary contains of this journey; for the details are long and many of them unimportant. I must therefore condense them much; and shall use marks of quotation when I transcribe parts of the diary; and if what I write shall ever be published, I hope it will be remembered that I wrote the impressions—perhaps erroneous impressions—that were made on my own mind, with little expectation that they would ever be seen by any eye but my own. Why, then, it may be asked, have I not suppressed them altogether? I answer, I have done so hitherto; but this journey forms a part of my life, of which I ought to give some account. But beside this, I wish to present a view of the state of things in our country more than half a century ago; for the changes that take place in our land are so rapid, that the lapse of half a century produces a generation unacquainted with many things which happened at its commencement,

which to know, may not only gratify curiosity, but be in a measure useful.

I repaired to the place of my nativity on a visit to my mother, and to make a disposition of the property left me by the will of my father. Here I very unexpectedly met with my brother-in-law, the Rev. Ebenezer Bradford and his wife, my mother's eldest daughter. Mr. Bradford, in whose family I resided when I had my first serious impressions of religion, as heretofore stated, was at that time the pastor of the Presbyterian church at South Hanover, from which he removed, on a call from Rowley, in the state of Massachusetts, twenty-eight miles north-east of Boston. It so happened that his family on their way to Rowley, lodged at my father's and departed thence on the same morning on which I left home to go to college. The afternoon preceding these events, my mother, in prospect of parting with her eldest daughter and an affectionate son, was greatly affected, and my father was not successful in endeavouring to comfort her. My meeting with my brother-in-law and his wife at the time above mentioned, was on their first and only visit to my mother after the death of my father. My sister, in her widowhood, visited our common mother on one subsequent occasion. I spent six days at Hanover, conversing with my friends, celebrating the communion, preaching twice, baptizing both adults and infants, and settling my secular affairs. Brother Bradford preached the action sermon and dispensed the sacred elements.

On the sixteenth of June I left Hanover at seven o'clock in the morning, and pursued my journey; called

on Mr. Chapman at Orange, and on Dr. McWhorter at Newark, and the latter courteously accompanied me in his chair as far as Second river, on my way to New York city. I arrived there about half after twelve o'clock, and immediately called on Dr. Rodgers, who received and entertained me in the kindest manner, and with him I lodged. To-day I was gratified by receiving a letter from my wife.

17th. Wrote a letter to my wife, and left the house of Dr. Rodgers about nine o'clock for Kings-bridge, which is fifteen miles distant from the city. I set out from Kings-bridge about four o'clock, p. m. It rained, and I got four miles out of my way. In consequence of this I was belated, and had to travel in the evening. My eyes were very sore, and I could hardly see the road. I got the horrors, but reached Rye notwithstanding, about nine o'clock.

18th. Set out on my journey before six o'clock. It was a fine pleasant morning, and I was in good spirits. The road from Rye to Stamford, across what is commonly called Horse Neck, is rough with hills, stones and rocks. But it is not one-fourth part as bad as it was represented to me, and as I expected to find it. There are many intervals of good level sandy road; over the whole distance I travelled five miles an hour with ease. The country is thickly inhabited, and looks fertile and flourishing. The houses in general are neat and commodious, and the manners of the people plain and simple. I was particular in my observation of what goes by the name of Putnam Hill; the name of which was derived from the revolutionary hero, a general in the American army. On one side

of the hill there is a precipice, not so formidable as I had been made to believe before I saw it; but enough so to turn the road, in order to shun it, almost at a right angle. The story is, that General Putnam was chased by some British dragoons, who were gaining upon him; and to avoid them, he leaped his horse, going at full speed, down the precipice. The dragoons did not choose to follow him, and the general escaped. I have as yet found nothing of that inquisitiveness for which the New England people are said to be remarkable. I arrived at Norwalk a quarter after ten o'clock, and after taking some refreshment, called on the Rev. Mr. Burnet, who pressed me to stay and preach for him on the succeeding day; but I refused. I set forward at about four o'clock p. m. for Greenfield, and arrived at the Rev. Dr. Dwight's at six. He received me very hospitably, and we had much conversation till bed time.

19th, Sabbath. I spent the day with Dr. Dwight, and preached for him twice. We had a good deal of agreeable conversation likewise on religious subjects; but his church was most miserably attended, there being not more than fifty hearers in the morning, and not a great number more in the afternoon. The day was a little rainy, but not so as to confine people disposed to go out.

20th. I spent the morning of this day with Dr. Dwight in conversation on various subjects, and afterwards dined with Dr. Rodgers, a physician of the town; after dinner we went into the steeple of the church to look at the town and its vicinity. One of the most beautiful and varied prospects that I ever beheld is here presented to view. Of Doctor Dwight I had

heard much. and I came prepared to examine his character with attention. He is, in my estimation, a man of real genius; his imagination is lively and brilliant; his perceptions are quick and strong; his taste is rather acute, than delicate and distinguishing; his knowledge is various and extensive, and he has great confidence in himself. He is moreover, very benevolent, liberal and generous in his sentiments, while, at the same time, he is a strenuous stickler for what he esteems the truth. He is open and communicative in a high degree; and to crown all, he appears to be a man of true piety, and to have the real and best interests of mankind much and constantly at heart. I like him much, and whoever is capable of being influenced by benevolence and ingenuity, will not, I think, fail to like him." Before I take leave of Dr. Dwight, I think it proper to mention that the visit I paid him, when I wrote as above, was productive of a confidential friendship, which was terminated only by his death. He was more than once a delegate from the General Association of Connecticut to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. I also visited him as often as my occasions led me to New Haven. Thus we had a good deal of personal intercourse, and when absent from each other we occasionally corresponded by letter. The more I knew of him, the more I esteemed and loved him, so that the foible noted above would probably not have been mentioned, as visible by me, after I knew him thoroughly. These remarks have been inserted as recording my *first impressions* of his character. "I left the house of Dr. Dwight about four o'clock, P. M., and came on through Stratford, which

is a handsome town, with two places of worship, to Milford, where there are the same number. I lodged with Mr. Lockwood, a clergyman of the place, who is an agreeable, judicious, sensible, pious man, exceedingly and unaffectedly polite and friendly.

21st. Left Mr. Lockwood's and arrived at New Haven about noon. I dined and put up my horse at the tavern, and about four o'clock, P. M. waited on Dr. Stiles, the president of the college, who received me in a very friendly manner. I called on Mr. Sherman and at Dr. Edwards', but neither of them was at home. The tutors of the college, with Mr. Sherman, waited on me at Dr. Stiles', where we conversed till ten o'clock.

22d. I breakfasted with Mr. Sherman, and then went with Dr. Stiles to view the college and chapel. We spent considerable time in the library and museum, and the Doctor showed me some of the manuscripts of my maternal grandfather who was the first *Rector* of the college, the name then given to the President.* After calling on Mr. Austin, I wrote a letter to my wife and another to her father. I dined with Dr. Stiles, and then rode with him to see Dr. Dana, who was not at home. I then went with Mr. Sherman and drank tea with Mrs. Dr. Edwards; thence went to view the philosophical apparatus of the college, which is the best I have seen: spent the evening with Dr. Stiles in company with Dr. Dana and several other gentlemen. President Stiles is in my opinion a truly pious man, and an accurate and extensive scholar. He is also

* Appendix, D.

liberal and polite, and appears to love to do good; he has given me much useful information, especially in regard to the religious state of New England. Perhaps he is hardly rigorous enough in his religious opinions: yet I am not certain that this suspicion in me is not owing to the want of the knowledge and experience which he possesses. On the whole, I esteem him as an excellent man of extensive and various literature and goodness. Still, he is characteristically rather a man of learning than of genius. Of Doctor Dana I saw so little that I can write nothing. I lodged with Dr. Stiles.

23d. Breakfasted with Mr. Fitch, an old acquaintance, and then set forward on my journey; and passing through the town of Wallingford without stopping, I arrived at Middletown about one o'clock and dined with Dr. Dickinson, who treated me very hospitably. Middletown has three churches; one Presbyterian, one Episcopalian and one separate. I took tea with Dr. Dickinson, and then set out for Weathersfield about five o'clock, p. m. The prospect down the Connecticut river on the elevated ground about three miles from Middletown, is extremely beautiful and pleasing. There is brought under the eye what looks like a large variegated and exuberant garden. A spot more fully and skilfully cultivated does not perhaps exist in America. Some thousand acres are cultivated with the greatest art and care. Indeed the whole shores of Connecticut river as far as I have seen them, are under the most perfect cultivation I have ever seen. I arrived at Weathersfield about sun down, and lodged with Col. Chester, who treated me with hospitality and polite-

ness. I was introduced to him by a letter from Doctor Dwight. Weathersfield is the town famous for onions; the air is, strictly speaking, in some parts of the town filled with their effluvia. The following information I received from Col. Chester. "The women do the most of the work. The beds are about four feet wide, and the rows of onions are about fourteen inches distant from each other. The soil must be very rich, but in other respects the kind is immaterial, and there is a great advantage in keeping onions in the same ground."

24th. Breakfasted with Col. Chester, and rode into Hartford by a little after eight o'clock. I regret that I neglected to call on Mr. Marsh, the clergyman of Weathersfield. In Hartford I put up at a tavern, and went and called upon Mr. Dwight, who introduced me to Mr. Strong, a clergyman of the place, and he introduced me to his clerical brother, Mr. Flint. The freemasons were meeting in Hartford to celebrate the anniversary of St. John. A sermon was preached, and I was invited, with several other clergymen, to attend public worship; which was celebrated in Mr. Strong's meeting-house, the name uniformly given to a *church* in Connecticut. A Mr. Rowland preached from the text, "Let brotherly love continue." After sermon, the clergymen were invited to dine with the brotherhood; who gave us a handsome dinner and polite treatment. With Messrs. Dwight and Flint I spent the afternoon in conversation and in viewing the town, and afterwards took lodging for the night with Mr. Strong, who treated me in a very friendly manner. In the evening we entered into a free conversation, and I found him at

once more agreeable and a more pious man than I had heard him represented to be. Indeed, he had been misrepresented: I have hardly seen a man whom I have more thoroughly liked since I have been on my journey. He possesses strong natural powers, considerably improved. Among other talents, he is said to have at command a large fund of wit. Perhaps the indulging of his wit may be the foible of his character. But this I write only from hearsay, for I saw nothing but what was dignified, proper, and good natured. He is quick in his perceptions, and is a man of learning, and withal he appears to possess a feeling heart, and to love evangelical religion. If I mistake not, he is adroit in penetrating character. He told me that Trumbull the poet, Dwight the doctor, and himself, were fellow tutors in Yale College in their youth.

25th. Breakfasted with Mr. Strong, and immediately pursued my journey; passing through Windsor to Suffolk, where I dined; and then spent about three hours with Mr. Gray, the minister of the place, a venerable man, seventy-three years of age. Leaving Suffolk I went on my way to Springfield, and took lodgings with the Rev. Mr. Howard.

26th. Sabbath. I preached twice for Mr. Howard; who is a kind, friendly catholic man, with much good sense, and considerable improvement. He leans a little too much, I think, toward Arminianism; but he appears to be a man of real piety. I had for two of my auditors at public worship, Mr. Ames,* a member of

* Mr. Ames was one of the most eloquent speakers that the House of Representatives ever possessed. He had been so much out of health, while congress was occupied with the treaty which Mr. Jay

congress, and his affianced bride—she is a daughter of Col. Worthington.

27th. Pursued my journey towards Boston. Put up for dinner at a tavern at Western." I have taken no memorandum of it in my journal, but I think it was at the tavern in Western that I met with the first and only instance of what is called Yankee inquisitiveness, that I recollect in my whole journey. It occurred in the case of a school mistress who boarded at the tavern where I dined. I encouraged her inquiries by answering them readily, as I was desirous to know to what length she would proceed. She was not rude, but entirely civil and respectful; yet her questions were such as a stranger is not asked in polished society. Our revolution, by mingling the inhabitants of the eastern with

formed with Great Britain, as seldom to appear in his place in the House. But his party could not dispense with his services in regard to the treaty; and he prepared to speak, but without being sure he would be able to execute his purpose. His exordium (for I was present,) was singular. With both hands on his desk, to assist his rising, he said, "I hope, Mr. Speaker, that my strength will hold me out to say a few words." He soon became animated; and there was no appearance of feebleness till he came to a pause. Then to hold himself up, he had recourse to the same use of his hands that he employed in rising. Such was the character of his whole speech, which was, I think, continued for more than one hour. I remember the impression which he made on me, and I suppose on his audience in general, when he looked round, after a little silence, and said, "When I look at the throng which surrounds me, I see no one who does not appear to have a stronger hold on life than myself; and yet, Mr. Speaker, if you reject this treaty, even I may outlive the liberties of my country." He began to recover his health from the time he delivered this speech. Dr. Priestley, who was present and heard it, said, as I was informed, that it was equal to the best specimens of eloquence in the British Parliament.

those of the middle and southern States, had much influence in correcting all local peculiarities. "At half past two o'clock set forward on my journey, and pursued it through the towns of Brookfield, Spencer and Leicester to Worcester; these are all handsome county towns. The road is hilly with some stones, but on the whole is good. Arrived at Mr. Austin's about seven o'clock. He received me politely. He appears to be a man of real piety, and his wife is a very amiable woman. He has the reputation of being a new divinity man. The sentiments of this system I do not altogether like; but I have expressed myself in regard to it too freely and severely; let me be more cautious in future. Mr. Austin went with me in the evening to call on Mr. Bancroft, the other clergyman of the town. He is said to be an Arian; but he appears to be a man of considerable strength of mind, a good deal improved, and fluent and ready in his conversation. Alas! that his religious opinions should be so erroneous as I fear they are.

28th. Breakfasted with Mr. Bancroft, who treated me very courteously; and about half past six o'clock set out for Boston. The road between Worcester and Boston is hilly, but well repaired. I went to Mr. Morse's, in Charlestown, and was received cordially, and entertained in the most friendly manner.

29th. Mr. Eckley came to see me in the morning, and accompanied me, with Mr. Morse, to deliver a number of letters—to Dr. Lathrop, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Samuel Adams, the Lieutenant Governor, &c.;—went to Mr. Eckley's and then returned to Charlestown, to dine with Dr. Morse. With him and a company of

ladies, I went in the afternoon across the bay to Noddle's Island, where Colonel Williams received and entertained us very hospitably. The afternoon was spent very agreeably, and in the evening I returned to Mr. Morse's, and had some pleasing conversation with him and his wife. I feel myself strongly attached to this worthy man; and he says that my coming has served to encourage him and strengthen him in his sentiments and preaching. He is opposed to the prevailing opinions of Arianism and Arminianism, and to indifference in religion. Yet he acts with suitable meekness, and what I think is a true Christian spirit; that is, he is firm and fervent, and yet not bitter or censorious. He appears to be a man of great humility, of a warm heart, a good understanding, and considerable improvement.

30th. Attended the weekly lecture. The service was performed by Mr. Turner, a chaplain to the castle, who preached a good evangelical discourse; a little Arminianism, but full of the doctrine of grace; he is rather an Arminian in head than in heart. After sermon dined with Mr. Eckley, in company with Dr. Stillman, Dr. Lathrop, Mr. Morse, Mr. Ward, and Judge Davies, on whom I called before dinner. After dinner I rode with Mr. Morse to Brooklyn, to see Mr. Jackson, the clergyman of the place, who appears to be an excellent man.

July 1st. After dinner with Mr. Morse, I had some agreeable conversation with Deacon Larkin on religion; and about three o'clock P. M. set forward on my journey to Portsmouth, in a chaise with Mr. Morse. We arrived at Salem about five o'clock, and put up at Mr. Barnard's, one of the clergymen of the town. He is

said to be an Arminian, if not an Arian, as is also Mr. Prince, with whom we supped. He showed us a lucernal microscope of his own making, and a new air pump of his own invention and construction. He treated us politely, as did Mr. Barnard also, with whom we lodged; but not a word was said on the subject of religion. Salem is a large town, with seven churches and eight thousand inhabitants.

2d. We breakfasted with Mr. Barnard; and he went and showed us the hill on the back part of the town, where the witches of New England were formerly executed. The hill commands a fine view of the harbour, the towns of Salem, Danvers and Beverly. We resumed our journey and called at Mr. Spalding's door, but did not get out of our carriage. I called at his house last evening, but he was not at home. He is an old acquaintance, and I wished to have spent some time with him. I think he is a friend and advocate of evangelical religion, which I fear that some of his neighbours, with whom we have been so hospitably entertained, are not. Yet I see not how my wish could have been gratified without breaking in on plans of travelling which appeared indispensable. Leaving Salem we came to Ipswich, and dined with Mr. Dana, a venerable and primitive clergyman, and with whom we had some agreeable conversation. Reached Rowley about three o'clock P. M. and found Mr. Bradford's family all well.

3d. Sabbath. I preached twice at Rowley; the first time from the words, "One thing is needful;" the second time from the text, "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." Had con-

siderable enlargement both parts of the day. Mr. Spalding, who came to see me on Saturday evening, preached a third time from these words, "Wisdom is justified of her children." He is a new divinity man, brimful of the peculiarities of the system; but he appears nevertheless to be a man of piety, and we had no controversy.

4th. About nine o'clock Mr. Morse came in from Ipswich, and we set forward on our journey. We arrived at Newburyport about eleven o'clock and put up at Mr. Carey's, who received us with great hospitality. He is a sensible, shrewd, and I think pious man. Attended at the Episcopal church, and saw Bishop Seabury confirm a number of persons according to the order of his Church. Dined with Mr. Carey; and in the afternoon took tea with Mr. Spring, who received and treated us in a very friendly and polite manner. We spent the evening in conversing, principally on the character of Mr. Murray. Mr. Spring accompanied us to Mr. Carey's, where we lodged.

5th. Breakfasted with Mr. Andrews, a young clergyman who is colleague with Mr. Carey, and who seems to be a modest, sensible man; but from what I have heard, I fear he is leaning towards error in religious sentiments. Yet there was nothing of this visible to me. Went to Mr. Spring's, who is a new divinity man, as I am informed, of nearly the highest order. He has, however, too much good sense to run into all the rashness and violence of the system, and is too well acquainted with human nature, not to know that it must be won and not driven into religious opinions. He appears to have studied closely, and to have ac-

quired a considerable share of information, especially on religious subjects. His knowledge, however, as it lies principally in the track of new divinity, so it seems to be mostly directed to its advancement. After all, and better than all, he appears to be an excellently pious and godly man, desirous to promote true religion, and disposed to rejoice in its advancement. He treated me with as much friendliness as I have ever met with, and I am to preach for him on my return, when I expect we shall have (what we have not yet had,) a disputation on new divinity. After a walk to view the town, we dined with Mr. Pike. This is an open hearted, excellent man; he made me a present of his Arithmetic, just published. At about three o'clock we set forward on our journey for Portsmouth, where we arrived a little after sunset, and after taking tea at the tavern, we called on Mr. Buckminster and Col. Langdon. Mr. Buckminster is a very afflicted, good man, with whom we refused to lodge, though invited, for fear of oppressing him with company—he is in great dejection of mind.

6th. We called in and breakfasted with Mr. Buckminster. I pity him from my heart. After breakfast we called on Dr. Havens, who received us politely. He appears to be a man of middling talents and moderate divinity. After we left Dr. Havens, we went to see Mr. Dearborn's school, which pleased me much, and is the best thing I have seen in Portsmouth. The teacher is ingenious, polite and modest. His manner of instruction and the proficiency of his scholars is excellent and singular. Portsmouth contains five places of worship. We dined with Col. Langdon, and after

dinner and receiving many pressing invitations to stay and spend the Sabbath in Portsmouth, we set forward on our return journey. We called on Mr. McClintock, who has the reputation of being a sensible, shrewd, penetrating orthodox minister, and who is said to be preparing a rod for Bishop Seabury. After staying with him about an hour we went forward to Exeter and took lodgings with Mr. Rowland, the clergyman of the place, a young man of good disposition, sound in the faith, of middling talents, benevolent, hospitable and polite; yet I thought his dress rather beauish for a clergyman. This is my birth-day, when I complete my twenty-ninth and enter on my thirtieth year. Oh! may I, if I live, spend the coming year more profitably than any that is past.

7th. Exeter is a handsome little town, containing two parishes and is situated at the head of navigation on Exeter river, where there are several mills, and where vessels were built in abundance before our revolution. Pursued our journey towards Newburyport, where we dined with Mr. Spring. I like him much; though I do not fully agree with him in some of his new divinity sentiments; but we have hitherto had no controversy. I preached for him with some enlargement, (although oppressed with a cold,) from the text, "Seeing all these things shall be dissolved," &c. He appeared to be satisfied with my doctrine and requested (I know not on what reason,) that I would preach at Cambridge. Drank tea with Judge Greenleaf, and then went on to Rowley, where we arrived about nine p. m., and found Mr. and Mrs. Bradford returned from their New Jersey visit.

8th. Spent the forenoon in conversation with Mr. Bradford and with my sister his wife. At 2 o'clock I preached for Mr. Bradford from the text, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit;" but I was much incommoded by a cold and had little fervour. Took leave of Mr. Bradford's family about 5 o'clock. I was a good deal affected at parting from them and they seemed to share my feelings. We rode on to Salem, where Mr. Spalding had appointed a lecture, with some expectation that I would preach, but I was hoarse and almost sick with a cold. Mr. Morse officiated, and gave us a good, sensible discourse. We lodged with Mr. Spalding, who entertained us in a very friendly manner. We have as yet, contrary to my expectations, had no dispute on new divinity; only to-day at Mr. Bradford's we had some conversation on a few points, in which all parties appeared candid and friendly, and which I really hope will do some good.

9th. Left Salem and arrived at Charlestown about twelve o'clock, M. Our journey on the whole has been pleasant and agreeable. Mr. Morse and myself have had a great deal of conversation, which has been perfectly harmonious and friendly, and I hope not only mutually agreeable, but advantageous. I feel my heart closely united to him. In the afternoon I preached for him from the words, "Let us draw near with a true heart," &c. Mr. Eckley, Dr. Payson, Dr. Stillman and Mr. Baldwin were present.

10th. Spent Sabbath at Charlestown. Preached for Mr. Morse in the forenoon, from the words, "This do in remembrance of me," a sacramental sermon. Mr. Morse officiated at the communion, at which I was

exceedingly stupid at the beginning, but towards the close I had some freedom and enlargement of thought and affection. In the morning I preached with tolerable life; but this afternoon I was extremely lifeless and heavy. The people were inattentive. Perhaps this was in a measure owing to the manner in which I addressed them, but it was greater than I have ever seen in delivering a discourse to my own pastoral charge, and it damped me exceedingly. It was probably best that I should be humbled. This morning in praying with Mr. Morse's family I had great enlargement.

11th. Spent the morning with Mr. Morse, who read to me his controversies from the pulpit and the press with the Anti-Trinitarians and the Baptists. He writes with a closeness and correctness, and an aptitude for controversy, which exceeds the expectation (which was not low,) that I formed of his talents. About twelve o'clock I came over to Mr. Eckley's, with whom I am now to lodge. After dinner went to the Association of Clergy in and about Boston, and I was glad to see one of their meetings. They assemble once a fortnight in each other's houses by rotation. The time of meeting is three o'clock, P. M., but members are dropping in till five, and no account is required of causes of absence or delay. At four o'clock the chairman is expected to pray, but this part of the duty in the present instance fell on me as a stranger, and I performed it but poorly. The prayer is usually the only thing of a religious nature which claims attention. The meetings are indeed so frequent that there cannot be ecclesiastical concerns to occupy the time spent in them all. Yet I am ready to believe that there might be much useful

conversation on religious subjects—on sentiments, doctrines, history, facts, &c., if the members were generally disposed to spend their time in this manner; much also, I conceive, might be employed in devising plans for the advancement of true religion, if the members of the Association were so disposed to spend their time. But, as I understand, they are so diverse in their sentiments that they cannot agree on any point in theology. Some are Calvinists, some Universalists, some Arminians, some Arians, and one at least is a Socinian. How absurd it is for men of such jarring opinions to attempt to unite. How much more conducive to improvement and to pleasure, that the parties should divide, and that those who are agreed should walk by themselves. Yet this plan I know would be esteemed by them as the effect of bigotry and narrowness of mind; and so they will meet, and shake hands, and talk of politics and science, and laugh, and eat raisins and almonds, and apples and cake, and drink wine and tea, and then go about their business when they please. To such a meeting as this, for the purposes of amusement, relaxation or sociability, few would probably object. But for the purposes of church government, to me, at least, it appears ludicrous. Yet let me do them justice. They had one question of an ecclesiastical kind at this meeting, in regard to a preacher of universal salvation who appeared before them; and they refused to give him a written recommendation or *approbamus*, as they called it. After the Association, I walked with Mr. Eckley, and called on a number of gentlemen.

12th. This day was spent with a party on the water.

The Humane Society make an annual visit to the islands which lie in the mouth of the harbour, and on which they have erected huts, provided with dry fuel, tinder, straw, &c., for the accommodation of shipwrecked seamen. They visit the islands chiefly to see that the huts are in repair, and what improvements they will admit of. This is certainly a benevolent institution, and does great honour to the gentlemen who formed and who support it. The committee who visited the islands to-day invited the Governor of the State to accompany them, and as a stranger their courtesy induced them to invite me. We first went to the huts and inspected them, and then visited the light-house, which is three leagues from the town. The house is sixty feet high from the base to the lantern. The little island on which the light-house stands, is a solid rock, covered with some soil and rising about fifty feet above the level of the water. At this island we dined on chowder, a dish composed of fresh codfish, boiled with some salt pork and seasoned with onions and pepper. The composition forms an excellent dish, and tastes very much like turtle soup. I saw, but did not land at the castle, which is situated about six miles from Boston. It is strongly fortified, and is the place where criminals sentenced to hard labour are kept and employed. The castle saluted the Governor, going and returning, with thirteen guns. On our return we had rain and a considerable gale of wind, which a little discomposed the Governor. He is extremely infirm with the gout, and is incapable of moving himself. He is indeed but the wreck of the great Hancock, who had so much to do in establishing the independence of our

country. I esteem the opportunity I have had to pass a day with him very much, and I had moreover the advantage of seeing the *undress* of his character. He used no reserve, but meant to unbend and lose the governor in the man. He apologized for this, or rather explained it to me, as we were returning to Boston. He intimated that he considered himself as acting in the presence of confidential friends, who would neither relate nor make an advantage of what they heard or saw. He appears to be a man formed rather for active than for speculative or contemplative life. His information is, I think, not general and extensive, nor his reasonings very cogent; yet he sees by the faculty of common sense what is proper, and distinguishes more by intuition than by inference. He appears capable of presiding in a private company, or in a public assembly with great address, propriety and dignity: and he was better qualified to be the president of the old congress, than to be one of its planning and speaking members. His manners are remarkably pleasant and easy. At present he is said to be somewhat captious and whimsical; but this I consider as justly chargeable to his numerous and severe infirmities. He is not a professor of religion, although he shows it great respect, attends on public worship, and countenances and honours its professors. One of the company trod on his gouty toe, and in his agony of pain he made a profane exclamation, which was all that escaped him this day that savoured of profanity. His diseases have probably been increased, if not produced by free-living; still he has never been a drunkard, a glutton, nor a debauchee.

There was an individual on board our vessel who appears to be the governor's *droll*. He is a hatter by trade, but has made considerable improvement in knowledge, and possesses as much original humour as I have ever seen in any man. He is, moreover, the completest and most various mimic that I have ever known. But the indulgence of this talent degrades him; so that though you laugh, you can hardly forbear to despise him. Yet he is a professor of religion, and except in this particular, I am told that he adorns his profession. On the whole this has been an agreeable day; although I think there has been too much levity for a clergyman to indulge in often.

13th. Called with Mr. Eckley at the Governor's residence, but he was not at home. Then went over to Charlestown, and dined with Deacon Larkin, in company with Mr. Morse and Mr. Hurd. With these gentlemen I went in the afternoon to view the ground on Breed's Hill, where the memorable action of the 17th June, 1775, took place between the American militia and the British army, and which is commonly but improperly called the battle of Bunker's Hill. I had never before a just conception of this action. From this hill one of the finest views in the world is presented, the town and harbour of Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury, Brooklyn, the light-house, Charles and Mystic and Medford rivers, and a large range of cultivated and varied country, opens at once on the eye.

14th. I breakfasted with Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Adams. He is a staunch Oliverian republican; opposed to all high or aspiring measures in rulers and in government. He is sensible, shrewd and pene-

trating; a puritan in his religious sentiments and practice; destitute indeed of a persecuting and intolerant spirit, but opposed to that catholic indifference to all religion which so much characterizes the present age. He hates assumptions and inequalities in politics, morals and divinity. He possesses a firm and undaunted nature. He is, however, easy and polite in his manners, and yet simple in his address and conversation. He loves society, in which perhaps he talks too long; but this may arise from the slowness of his manner, not to mention the garrulity of age. He and Governor Hancock were the two individuals excluded from pardon in Gage's gasconading proclamation at the commencement of the late revolution. No man probably was more active or more efficient in beginning the revolution, than Samuel Adams. He is on the whole an excellent man; too fearful perhaps of some innocent measures in politics, and too much inclined to an extreme in democratic government. Yet not more so than the habit of keeping a jealous eye on the operations of the former British governments, and the liberties of his country, might naturally be expected to produce. He is on the safe side, and I like him as well as any man I have seen in New England; for he is thoroughly honest, and avows his opinions with the spirit and dignity of a man.

This day I preached the Thursday weekly lecture from these words, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, &c." I had some liberty and enlargement, and a remarkable deliverance from the fear of man. I dined with young Mr. Mason, and had some conversation with him and Mr. West on the innocence and

utility of dancing assemblies, and on the lawfulness and advantage of instrumental music in public worship. I drank tea with Deacon Philips, who although enormously rich, is an exemplary Christian, and his family appear to possess the like character. I spent the time very agreeably with him, his son, and his daughters. In the evening I called on Colonel Ward, an excellent, kind-hearted, benevolent man.

15th. To-day I called on Mr. Everett, a clergyman who once preached for me in Philadelphia, and who appears to be a sensible, well informed man. I called afterwards on Mr. Freeman, a clergyman who has been ordained by his own church, and who is an open, professed Arian. He did not, however, in conversation with me, deliver any of his heretical sentiments. He seems to be a learned, shrewd, and polite man. I dined with a Mr. Belknap, in company with the two Mr. Elliots. Mr. Belknap is a man of real science, and possesses an excellent taste in composition; yet he discovers nothing striking in his conversation. He is agreeable and judicious, but he does not shine, nor does he attempt any thing brilliant; he is quite commonplace in his conversation. He introduces no discussions of a literary nature, and when accident introduces them, he says common things in a common way; and yet he appears to have a quick discernment of faults, mistakes, and improprieties. I think he has a talent for ridicule and smartness if he chose to indulge it, which he does not. He is orthodox, as I am informed, in his religious sentiments, and preaches accurately and perspicuously, but not with much life or energy. In the evening I preached a sacramental lecture for Mr. Eckley to a

numerous and attentive audience; my text was, "He is our peace;" and I was favoured to speak with considerable freedom.

16th. I breakfasted with Mr. West, an agreeable brother clergyman, and he accompanied me to see the wax-work of Mr. Bowden, which is much improved since he left Philadelphia. I went afterwards to see Mr. West's church, which is neat and beautiful, and cost but two thousand pounds—then went to see the duck or sail-cloth manufactory, which is one hundred and eighty feet long; then went with Mr. Eckley to see the card manufactory. They make two hundred dozen pair a day, and employ above a thousand children of the town in setting the teeth of the cards. The machinery of this establishment is curious and excellent. Called on Dr. Stillman, for whom I am to preach on Tuesday next. Dined with Governor Hancock, Mr. Adams, the Lieutenant-Governor, and about thirty other gentlemen. The conversation was general, and turned on common topics; but there was much sociability and good humour. Mrs. Hancock is an agreeable and accomplished woman, and I find she has the character also of an economist.

17th. Sabbath. Preached in the morning for Mr. Thatcher in Brattle-street meeting-house, from the text, "Not slothful in business," &c. Governor Hancock, who is a member of the congregation, was extremely attentive. In the afternoon I preached for Mr. Eckley in the old South meeting-house from the text, "Seeing that all these things shall be dissolved," &c. The congregation was numerous and attentive.

18th. In the morning I rode with Mr. Eckley to

view the breast-works and intrenchments on Dorchester Heights. The occupation of these heights by the American army under General Washington, obliged the British troops to evacuate the town of Boston in March, 1776. They were taken possession of (for they had before been occupied by neither army) by a stolen march in the night; and before morning they were covered with intrenchments. They completely command the harbour, and a part of the town. From viewing them, I was astonished that the British commander should never have thought of the necessity of securing them.

After our return from Dorchester, I called at the residence of Deacon Phillips and his son, but neither of them was at home. I dined to-day with Judge Russell of Charlestown, by whom I was very cordially treated. After dinner brother Morse rode with me to Cambridge to see the University. We called on president Willard, to whom I delivered my letters, and who received and treated me with great politeness. He was very conversable and cheerful, which, from what I had heard, I did not expect. In his manner he is rather stiff, but appears to be really desirous of giving pleasure. From what I saw, I take him to be rather a man of learning than of genius; but I saw too little of him to make a just estimate. He requested the professor of philosophy, Mr Webber, and the librarian, Mr. Harris, to show me the philosophical apparatus and the library. They are the most extensive and complete of any on the continent. The library contains thirteen thousand volumes; returned to Charlestown and came over to Boston on foot.

19th. I went in the morning with Mr. Eckley to the top of Beacon or Monument hill. It is a very considerable eminence, and of very steep ascent, commanding a view of the town, of which it nearly is the centre. Its base is small, and the shape nearly conical. The monument is made of brick, and is, I imagine, about thirty feet in height; a gilt eagle looking to the north is placed on its top. The base of the monument is square to the height of about eight feet; the remainder is round. A flat stone forms the front of each side of the base—on each of these sides or stones there is an inscription or engraving. Towards the north there is a memento addressed to the reader and to posterity: "That while from that height, scenes of plenty and abodes of domestic peace and a flourishing commerce meet the eye, the spectator is not to forget those by whose labours, dangers and virtues they were secured." On the east side there is nothing but a record that the monument was erected by a voluntary subscription of the citizens of Boston in the year 1790. On the two other sides are recorded simply the dates of the most memorable events which led to the American revolution, and those which happened during the war and since the peace. We called on our return, on Deacon Phillips and Lieutenant-Governor Adams, but neither of them was at home. This day I dined with Judge Dawes, in company with Messrs. Eckley, Belknap, Thatcher, Clarke, &c. In the evening I preached for Dr. Stillman to a crowded audience with considerable freedom and enlargement. Many clergymen from several parts of the State were present, who had come

to Boston to attend the Cambridge commencement, which takes place to-morrow.

20th. Set out in the morning with Mr. Eckley for commencement. The Governor invited us to breakfast with him, but we could not go. We took a chaise at Charlestown bridge, and rode on to Cambridge. The road was crowded with carriages, and men and women, and boys and children, all going to commencement. We arrived at the college, and by favour as a stranger, I walked in the procession with the overseers. The exercises were introduced with prayer by the president, who is awkward enough in the pulpit. In prayer he frequently hesitates, and sometimes recalls a word; yet on the whole he performs the duty in a judicious and sensible manner. The distortion of his features when he is speaking, is the worst thing about him to a person who is looking at him. We had two forensic disputations, and one syllogistic. The syllogistic was in Latin, and in my opinion, of little more use than to give a number of indifferent speakers the opportunity of saying something in a language not generally understood. The negator in repeating his position, called the word corpŏrum, corpŏrum, which the president corrected from the pulpit, and with which I was well pleased. The orations, disputations and dialogues, which were in English, were in general pretty well composed and tolerably spoken. The speaking, however, was for the most part far inferior to the composition, and below what I have seen elsewhere. The best oration was one on the French Revolution, spoken by a candidate for the master's degree. At three o'clock we adjourned for dinner, and on invitation, I dined in the

dining hall with the corporation. This hall will accommodate two hundred persons, and each graduate at taking his degree, pays a certain sum, (I believe it is three dollars,) and in consequence is entitled to dine in the hall on commencement day, at the expense of the corporation, as long as he lives. The class who are candidates for degrees perform the office of waiting-men or servants at this dinner, and for this purpose they lay aside their college gowns and coats, and gird themselves with a towel, or throw it over one of their shoulders. It was not a little curious to me to see the orators of the day metamorphosed into servitors in a few minutes, and I could not prevail upon myself to call on them to do any thing I wished. Yet I am not quite certain but that it is an useful custom, tending to teach the youth humility, and the important lesson that it is an honour as well as a duty to wait on their superiors in age and station. They do not dine until their *bettors* have risen from the table. After dinner we sang a psalm. This was a good old primitive and pious custom; but in the present state of things it appears rather formal, and by some it is treated with reproachful levity at the time of its performance. Indeed it is affecting to a serious mind, to observe in many respects what an incongruity there is produced by uniting the forms and customs of the good old Puritans with that latitudinarian and licentious spirit in regard to religion which is now prevalent.

After dinner we proceeded again to the church in procession. The first speaker had scarcely begun his oration when he was interrupted by a noise in the gallery. Two men, who were probably a little intoxicated,

were quarrelling about a seat or a favourable stand. Some of the troop of light-horsemen who had escorted the governor, went into the gallery with drawn swords, and one of them seized one of the disturbers by the collar and a scuffle ensued between them. The light-horsemen pressed forward to support their companion, and the countrymen from every part of the gallery cried out, "Let him alone, don't strike him." The countrymen eventually overcame the troopers, and as I was informed took some of their swords from them and threw them away. The governor at length rose and ordered the sheriff of the county to do his duty forthwith. The sheriff went forward with his white staff and no one attempted resistance. He took the disturbers and put them in prison. I consider this affray as marking the spirit of Americans in general, and of the New Englanders in particular. They will submit to the white staff of peace and civil order, but they scorn to be terrified by red coats and drawn swords, and I hope they will ever retain this spirit. The music composed the assembly when the rioters were removed, and the speaker resumed his subject and possessed a profound attention. When all was finished, except the valedictory oration, the president conferred the degrees. He sat as he did it in a very antique two-armed chair which is a century and a half old, for it is coeval, as I understand, with the erection of the college. The president rose from it, and in Latin asked leave of the governor and council to admit the candidates for degrees to the honours of the college—informing the *honoratissimi* that the *juvenes* were entitled to these honours from their examination. The governor answered in a

short, handsome reply in Latin, which he delivered with great propriety; as he also did a short address in English on another occasion. This formality of asking leave was repeated at the conferring of the masters' and medical doctors' degrees—the latter were called *viri* by the president, to distinguish them, I suppose, from the *juvenes*. Twenty-seven bachelors, two masters, and two medical doctors, received on this occasion the honours of the college. The president made the mistake of "*trado hoc librum*," for "*hunc librum*." He corrected himself the first time; but he made it the second time and did not correct it; but every time afterwards he had it right. He seems to be deficient in address, and readiness, and recollection; but in real and solid learning, I am told and believe, he excels.* The whole was concluded with prayer. The governor sent his secretary to ask me to sup with him at his house in Boston; but I was obliged to excuse myself, and took leave of his excellency at the president's house—at parting he flattered me with some handsome compliments. I rode to brother Morse's house in Charlestown in a hackney coach with Mr. Otis and Mr. Eckley; and after parting tenderly with the latter gentleman, I had some agreeable and comfortable reli-

* Several years after my return from my journey through New England, President Willard had occasion to travel for the restoration of his health, visited me in Philadelphia, and gave me the grateful opportunity of returning the civilities he had shown me at Cambridge. He was famed for his knowledge of the Greek language, and I recollect that I consulted him with satisfaction in relation to a criticism on a text in the original of the New Testament. He was a very amiable man in private life.

gious conversation with Mr. Morse, Deacon Larkin, &c. &c.*

21st. Intending to see something of Rhode Island on my return home, I set out in the morning of the day, after taking an affectionate leave of Mr. Morse and his family. I arrived at Providence at six o'clock, P. M., and called at the residence of Dr. Manning, the president of the college in this place, but found that he was not at home. I left a letter for him, and took lodging at Daggett's tavern. The town of Providence stands at the head of the navigation on the river of the same name. It is a large, healthy, and flourishing place. The college building is of brick, four stories high, and the front somewhat like Nassau Hall, but not as large. The town lies on both sides of the river, and is nearly of a semi-circular form—the concave of the circle being presented to the eye as you stand above the town and look down the river. The town lies principally on one street, and the bridge over the river is nearly in its centre.

22d. This morning I have been a good deal impatient in waiting for the wind to become favourable to my wishes, and have experienced a considerable degree of *tedium mentis*, and no inconsiderable pain from the rheumatism. I have read the Cambridge catalogue, Mr. Morse's sermon on the death of Mr. Cary, Mr. Bradford's on the ordination of Mr. Lambert, Mr.

* Eckley, Morse, Thatcher, Belknap, Baldwin, Spring, and some others, as well as myself, had only plain Mr. set before our names at the time when I wrote the above journal, but when the rage began for multiplying Doctorates in our country, that degree was conferred on each of us.

Austin's after his installation, Dr. Dwight's election sermon, and the minutes of the General Assembly of our own church.

23d. This morning about six o'clock we set sail for New York in Capt. Currey's packet. The wind was light and variable, and we spent the whole day in getting as far as Newport, which is thirty miles from Providence. We did not get on shore until nine or ten o'clock in the evening. I lodged with Captain Guion, who was a passenger with me from Providence, but who is a citizen of Newport, and who treated me hospitably and politely.

24th. Sabbath. I went to the residence of Dr. Hopkins and preached for him twice to-day. The text of my first discourse was, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit," &c.—of the second, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." In both exercises I spoke with some freedom. After the public service of the day, I had a conversation with Dr. Hopkins on some points of new divinity, and he conversed very rationally and candidly. He acknowledged to me that there was something difficult and inexplicable in attempting to reconcile the divine agency and influence with perfect human liberty and accountableness, and in explaining how moral evil came into the universe, and how the evil thoughts and actions of creatures are reconcilable with the perfect moral purity and unblamableness of God. I told him that those who are called moderate Calvinists complain that the new divinity men pretend that there is no difficulty in these subjects. He said in reply, that he exceedingly disapproved of the conduct and preaching of some young

ministers who embrace and propagate such sentiments. He said they were rash and imprudent, and made unjustifiable expressions; and that they proclaimed their peculiar sentiments too much on all occasions, where they had not time fully to explain them and to guard them against abuse. He is considered as the author and champion of the new divinity by some; but he is certainly a man of much more candour, liberality and catholicism, than most of his disciples. He is just finishing a system or body of divinity on his own plan. There is nothing striking in his manner and conversation. On the contrary, there is something which would lead a person ignorant of his character to think him rather weak and simple and unthinking. He looks like a vacant minded man, and his conversation on common and ordinary topics is not calculated to remove such an impression. Yet he is certainly a man of a subtle and discriminating mind. He is indeed more calculated for minute inquiries than for comprehensive views. His mental optics seemed formed to see small objects distinctly, but are unable to survey large ones—he sees parts but not the whole. His love of distinguishing sometimes leads him to make distinctions where there are no differences. He separates in reasoning, things which are never separated in fact. His love of metaphysics carries him out of real life; but he appears after all, to be a man of real and fervent piety. His congregation is almost extinct, and I have had queries with myself whether his abstruse manner of preaching has not contributed to drive his people from him.

25th. We set sail from Newport for New York at

about six o'clock in the morning. The wind was fair the most of the day, and we came the most of our voyage. The crew and company are tolerably civil; they forbear profane expressions in my presence, but I overhear them swearing on the deck. My accommodations are excellent. I have a state-room to myself, where I can be retired as often and as much as I please.

26th. This day we have made but little progress in our voyage. The wind has been small; we have gone not more than thirty miles during the day, and I have been a good deal impatient. I have, however, read Burr's letter to the publisher of Emlyn's remarks.

27th. This morning there was a calm; but about nine o'clock there sprang up a breeze that was fair, and we arrived at New York at about six p. m. I called at the door of Dr. Rodgers' dwelling, and left a bundle of letters, and went to Paulus Hook ferry, which I crossed as the sun was setting. I arrived at Newark about ten o'clock p. m., and lodged with Dr. McWhorter.

28th. I rode to Elizabethtown this morning, and took my breakfast with the family of Mr. Austin. Thence to New Brunswick, and dined at the tavern. Called at Colonel Deare's, and left with his wife seven dollars which I had received for him in New England. I reached Princeton about six o'clock p. m. and found my wife and family there, and to my great joy all in good health and very happy.

29th. Spent this day at Princeton. After making several calls, I went with Dr. Smith and Dr. Stockton to Tusculum, in the afternoon, to take tea with Dr. Witherspoon, and to pay my respects to his young wife. I had heard her represented as very handsome.

She is comely; but to my apprehension, nothing more. The Doctor treated us with great politeness.

30th. My father-in-law, Mr. Stockton, sent our whole family to Bristol in a light wagon; at which place we took the public stage, and in a cloud of dust, which seemed at times to threaten suffocation, we arrived safely at our home in Philadelphia about sun-set.

It becomes me surely to acknowledge, and to be deeply sensible of the goodness of God to me, in the journey from which I have now returned. I have gone out and come in under the Divine protection. In a journey in which I have travelled, by land and by water, nearly a thousand miles, no accident worth a notice has befallen me; and I have met with a reception kind and friendly beyond my expectations. My health, which was very infirm, and my spirits, which were low and languid, are greatly recruited. My family also has been improved in health; my youngest child has become hearty, when I feared at leaving home that I should never see him again. My dear wife has likewise been evidently mended in health. My congregation too have been peaceable and contented; and not one unkind word, that I can hear of, has been spoken in regard to my absence. On the contrary, the people, I have been informed, have been anxious that I should not give myself uneasiness, and fearful lest I should hurry myself too much for my health. My God! what shall I render unto thee for these undeserved favours. O! incline me to spend the strength I have acquired by thy kindness, in a more zealous and active service of thee, than I was capable of when I left my home. This I think is my settled

purpose and sincere prayer. During my journey I have had more lively, firm, and affecting apprehensions of religious truth, than I usually have when from home; and have felt my dependence on God more than is usual with me; and I have been preserved from desires and temptations into which I am prone to fall. This is all of free, sovereign and distinguishing grace; and as I hope I do not record it with a disposition to take any merit to myself, so I pray that it may not be the cause of any self-righteousness in my recollection of it hereafter. My journey appeared to me to be in some measure useful to the general interests of religion; especially in and about Boston, where many of the clergy are extremely lax in their religious sentiments and doctrines. This I esteem the happiest circumstance of my journey. To do any thing to advance the cause of my Saviour—for me, who am so exceedingly unworthy, so faithless, so selfish, so little in communion with God, to be honoured, is a favour indeed. Let the glory be his to whom it is wholly due, and who may make use of an instrument to do good to others, which he may reject after all. On my return, I lost my religious feelings and firmness in a considerable degree. It seems as if the Lord strengthened me just at the time when it might be of some use to the church, and then justly punished me for my exceeding sinfulness, by leaving me to a colder frame when his work was done. But blessed be his name for any enlargement. Though he slay me, I will endeavour to trust in him."

On finishing the transcription of my travelling diary, it seems proper that I should mention not only that I have omitted many unimportant incidents, but every

instance—not more than three in number—in which I was treated with coldness or distant civility. If my autobiography should be read by others, I think it is probable that some will think that I ought to have omitted much more than I have. But it was my design to state the facts which I witnessed, and the impressions which I received in early life. It lacks but about three months of fifty-three years, (for I write this March 11th, 1844,) since I began my travelling journal. Many changes have taken place during this period; and my own impressions of scenes and of characters might have been different if I had seen the same things at a more advanced period of life. In many places I have somewhat changed the language of my journal, but not so materially as to alter its meaning. My diary must still be my guide in assisting my recollection, and I shall quote it occasionally, but in general, its substance only can be given.

The week after my return from my journey, I preached twice on the Sabbath, and once at a weekly meeting, then held in the congregation—called on twenty-nine families of my pastoral charge, was twice called to give testimony in a court of law, attended one funeral and spoke at the grave, was numerously visited by my people at my own house and by several friends from a distance, gave advice to one individual under serious impressions of religion, and wrote a sermon for the following Sabbath. Nor was this an extraordinary occurrence. My previous absence from the city might and did induce me to call on more families than at ordinary times; but on the whole it is a fair specimen of my ministerial life. Indeed I was often interrupted

in my studies more seriously than appears in the above statement. To such a length did this interruption proceed, that I made an agreement with my wife not to call me from my study when visitors came, unless they expressed a wish to see me; and in that case, I often took a pen in my hand when I went to them, and did not take a seat, but walked about the room and conversed with them for a few minutes; and then told them that I was much engaged in my study, that they must excuse me, and that Mrs. Green would entertain them. I never adopted the practice of having stated hours for study, in which I would see no one. I thought it objectionable, inasmuch as a stranger might call, in passing, whom I might be very desirous to see, and a timid individual, in some distress, might be utterly discouraged by the refusal of an immediate interview. But after every expedient that I could contrive, the loss of time in my own house by unprofitable company, which civility seemed to demand an attention to, was the burden of my life for several years in the early part of my ministry. In later years, after a few minutes of social and cheerful conversation with those who have had no particular business with me, I have commonly not hesitated to tell them explicitly, but courteously, that my engagements did not permit me to spend more time with them.

It has been the practice of the Second Presbyterian church, I believe from its origin, to have the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered quarterly, or once in three months. On the 13th of August, 1791, I find the following entry in my diary: "The session met at my house in the evening, Dr. Sproat in the chair. We

came together to receive the applications of those who wished to come to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; but not a single application was made. This is the first instance of the kind since I have been in the pastoral office, and Dr. Sproat says he does not remember an instance like it since he took charge of the congregation. We surely have reason to be humbled and to mourn. How awful to think of the church of which we are pastors becoming extinct! O that it might please a gracious God to return and visit us with a day of Almighty power, that converts might be multiplied, and additions made to the church of such as shall be saved. O that God may make me faithful! that if Israel be not gathered by my instrumentality, I may at least deliver my own soul. In the week past, I have several times neglected secret prayer in the evening, though I have had liberty and enlargement in the duty in the morning. I am frequently so worried and worn down with fatigue by the evening, that I seem to have no spirits left to do any thing." I add here, that so far as I recollect, I have never omitted family prayer in my life, unless confined to bed by sickness, or on some occasion of imperious necessity. To show the state of my mind at this period, I insert another extract from my diary under date of the 10th of August. "Wrote on my sermon, but could not finish it. I think every week that I will get my business forward so as not to be hurried at the close, and yet I fail. I know I am not so diligent, active, and resolute as I ought to be; but I am truly oppressed with business, and have more to do than I can perform. I labour hard, and if I could get through with my concerns, I should be contented.

Strengthen me, O God! in body and in mind. At twelve o'clock I attended a meeting of the managers of the Dispensary as a member; and spent nearly two hours in conversing and consulting about an anonymous attack on one of the physicians of the institution. At half past five P. M. I attended a funeral. In the evening attended a lecture preparatory to the sacrament of the Supper. Dr. Sproat preached. The week past I have had some enlargement in my secret devotions."

CHAPTER XIV.

THAT I may give some order to the subsequent narrative of my life, I shall speak of it under a number of particulars; the first of which shall be

1. THE COMPOSITION AND DELIVERY OF SERMONS.

I have already mentioned the advice I received from Doctor Witherspoon, "not to write more than one sermon in a week," and the reason he assigned, which was, "if you attempt more you will spoil all;" at the same time he advised me to preach as often as I should be providentially called to the service; but to do it by meditation only, without writing. "Your prepared sermon," said he, "which should be the product of your best efforts, will cover the defects of all the rest; will gain you reputation, and will be gradually accumulating a stock of correct preparations, not only for your old age, if you live to reach it, but for use in travelling, and for repetition after proper interval, to the people of your pastoral charge." My habit of sermonizing in the former part of my ministry was in strict conformity with the foregoing advice. I recollect but a very few instances of departure from it, and the result has been, that I have numerous manuscript preparations for the pulpit, each of which cost me nearly four days of very severe study. But after I was considerably advanced in ministerial life, although I often wrote at large, yet in order to gain time for

reading and pastoral visitation, I wrote only the introduction, method, and some or the whole of the doctrinal part of my discourses, with hints for the application, but without writing in detail. Indeed I know of no method of preaching except the close reading of notes, which I have not practised. I have heretofore stated, that an evening service, which for a time I gave to the people at Campington, was performed without any writing. The same is true of all the services I performed in private societies. But I was still afraid to venture to preach in the city without my notes, or without committing the whole of a written discourse to memory, which method I practised for a short time. The city audience contained a number of educated men, besides many of the church-going members of congress. At length an occurrence took place which compelled me to address the audience, that had excited my fears, without any time even to meditate on what I should say. The case was this. I had gone to the pulpit supposing that the notes of a sermon which I had carefully prepared were safely in my pocket, till the psalm which was sung before sermon wanted only a single stanza of being finished. Then I discovered that my notes were not in my pocket, but that I must either have dropped them in the street, or left them in my study. In my confusion I could not even find the text on which I had prepared to preach. When but a single line remained to be sung, I turned hastily to a passage of Scripture on which I had once spoken at Campington, and rose and discoursed upon it at the same length as was usually occupied by my other discourses. I considered this

occurrence as intended in the providence of God to rebuke me for my "fear of man which bringeth a snare," and to teach me, that with the divine assistance, on which, in a case of necessity, I ought to depend, I might preach without writing or deliberate meditation: for my hasty effusion I found was very acceptable to my people in general, and the most critical hearer in the congregation, as I was informed, said it was in my ordinary manner, except that its parts were not so closely connected as my discourses were in common. After this I did not hesitate, (when I had not time to write,) to speak to my city audience, as well as to that in the Northern Liberties, without writing. I remember, that in one instance I was requested to print a sermon, of which, as far as I recollect, I had not written a word. But I always wrote when I could, and as much as I could, consistently with my other engagements, till I left my congregation on my call to assume the presidentship of the College of New Jersey. The proper delivery of sermons as well as the proper reading of the Scriptures and sacred poetry in the public worship of the sanctuary, are of far more importance than they are too often believed to be by ministers of the gospel. The attainment of a good elocution ought to be regarded as a sacred duty by every candidate for the gospel ministry, for a large share of his future usefulness will depend upon its attainment. It is often slighted as a vain acquisition, calculated to minister to the vanity of being esteemed as an orator. If this be the motive of cultivating an impressive manner of public speaking, by any one who expects to minister in holy things, it cannot certainly

be too much abhorred. But every laudable attainment may be pursued from corrupt motives. Let the motive be to do good and to increase usefulness—which are deeply involved in the matter we here contemplate—and eminent piety itself may urge a candidate for the sacred ministry to acquire the talent of *speaking well*, when he delivers God's holy truth. No man who is not born for it, will ever produce the highest effects of eloquence; but every man who has not some invincible natural defect may become an agreeable public speaker: most men may not only be agreeable, but also impressive. Dr. Witherspoon had a small voice, and used but little gesture in the pulpit, but his utterance was very distinct and articulate; and his whole manner serious and solemn; and no speaker that I ever heard, has thrilled my feelings more than he. President Davies, from what I have heard of him, was probably the most accomplished preacher that our country has produced. His ordinary habit was to lay his notes before him, having made himself so familiar with them, as to give his eyes and action to the audience with freedom. I am persuaded that notes can be used with such address as to remove objections to them from all who believe that a minister ought laboriously to prepare in ordinary circumstances, the discourses that he addresses to the people of his charge, especially on the Lord's day. I have mentioned above, that for a short time I made the experiment of committing my written discourses to memory; but some of my most judicious hearers informed me, that while I did so, I spoke with manifestly less freedom and energy than when my notes were before me.

2. PASTORAL VISITATION AND VISITING THE SICK.

I have always estimated very highly the duties involved in this particular or specification; and yet I was never able, in pastoral visitation, to satisfy either myself or the people of my own charge. The sick I never failed to visit when informed where I might find them, unless I was sick myself at the time. I found the usage established in the congregation which I served, that during childbed confinement the pastor was expected to visit the mother of the new born infant. Of this usage I always approved, and always, as far as I recollect, paid the expected visit; and even when, probably, the party visited would rather not have seen me, I have availed myself of the usage as authorizing the call. On every occasion of the kind, religious observations, made with affectionate tenderness, and concluded with prayer, were my invariable practice. In some instances the husband and children of the family, and commonly some other friends were present; and the effects of these visits seldom failed to be impressive, sometimes even to tears. But as to pastoral visitations in general, I find the following statement in my diary, under date of March 12th, 1792.

“Deacon Brown, of Campington, called to tell me that the people of Campington complain of my not visiting them more than I have hitherto done. I hear many complaints of this kind from various quarters of the congregation; and I do most sincerely wish to remove and prevent them. I form schemes and plans to visit more than I do; but I cannot accomplish them without neglecting something else which seems to be

indispensable. I am grieved and sometimes greatly distressed at it, and yet I do not see how I can answer the expectations of my people in this respect. They do not know how much I am hurried and distressed. They have no idea how much labour it costs me to make my preparations for the pulpit; how much time is consumed with unavoidable company; how much in visiting the sick, in funerals, and private baptisms; in catechising the children of the congregation; in attending societies; in family concerns; in attending to the general concerns of the church, as a member and the stated clerk of Presbytery and the General Assembly. Nor do they recollect how many families there are in the congregation; and how seldom I can visit one without neglecting another. Perhaps I am not as great an economist of time as I ought to be, and I sometimes think I am not; yet I contrive and plan, and strive to do more; and after all I cannot accomplish my own wishes nor plans, nor answer the expectations of the people. I have of times thought of giving up the writing of sermons, spend the time in visiting, and preach from such short notes and preparations as I could make in the evening, and before breakfast. But this I really think would be wrong. It would, I fear, mar my usefulness as a preacher very much, and be the means of rendering me in a great measure useless in after life. I sometimes think that it was wrong for so young a man as myself, and one who needs so much study, to settle in such a congregation as I have charge of, and I am led to wish that I were again at liberty; yet I love my people with a tenderness I had no conception of before I was a pastor; and the thought of

leaving them is intolerable. I cannot even blame them for finding fault with me; though I am conscious I do not generally deserve it. They are not acquainted with my perplexity; it is both natural and affectionate to wish me to visit them. It is my duty to do so as much as is in my power, and they do not know how much or how little that is. I am in this respect to blame, that there are some families that I have never yet visited. These I have not neglected through any disrespect; but partly through forgetfulness and partly because I did not know them. I perceive that people expect that I should find them out, without making themselves known to me. This I endeavour to do, but it can only be done gradually. On the whole, I am resolved to exert all the diligence in this that I can, to go and see, as soon as possible, those on whom I have not yet called, and to labour to redeem my time from every waste. But yet I know, that after all, I cannot answer the expectations of the people; and in this I must bear my cross." The foregoing extract from my diary was originally written in the fifth year of my ministerial life. Some of the defects mentioned were I think subsequently supplied; but I recollect that in my farewell address, I still stated that I had never fulfilled my own wishes in the matter of pastoral visitation. After Dr. Janeway became my colleague, we agreed to go together and to visit in detail every family in the Campington congregation. But before our task was half accomplished we gave it up, under a conviction that we were doing no good, and spending our time unprofitably. Nearly all the families in that part of the charge consisted of those who had to labour for

their daily subsistence; the male part as mechanics and porters, and the female part, with little or no assistance, in housekeeping. The men, of course, we generally found were not at home; and the women often washing, or cooking, and attending to their children. We broke in on these necessary occupations; and it was evident that they were in no frame of mind to attend to prayer, or to be profited by religious conversation. To visit them in childbed confinement, or when any of the family were sick, seemed the only opportunities that were left of doing them any good; except on the Sabbath, or in the evenings, when it was generally impracticable, for me at least to be from home.

I recollect one remarkable instance of a sick man at Campington, who appeared to receive great benefit from a pastoral visit that I paid him. He was deeply exercised with a conviction of his guilt as a sinner and concern for his soul's salvation, and had been so for some considerable time. I found him in a state of fever, which was probably aggravated by his mental distress. After stating to him the gospel plan of salvation, and the encouragement that convinced sinners had to look to the Saviour as the hope of their souls, I prayed with him; and on rising from my knees, he told me that while I was at prayer he had found relief from all his distress. His fever soon left him, and he speedily recovered; and I had reason to hope that he was a renewed man. Another instance, serving to show the error of those physicians who deprecate the access of clergymen to any of their patients, I will add to the one

I have just stated. It was the case of a lady who was very seriously and rationally exercised with regard to the state of her soul; and who requested that she might converse with a minister of the gospel. This her friends and physicians obstinately opposed, and plied her with the whole round of nervous medicines, but without any salutary effect. At length, as a matter of experiment, I was sent for. I went and found the object of my visit a woman of good understanding, with some improvement, and in a most interesting state of mind. I conversed with her for a considerable time, explaining the doctrines of the gospel, and directing her to believe to the saving of her soul. The conversation was concluded with earnest prayer for the divine blessing. The result was most happy. Her peace of mind was restored, or rather found. She could sleep without anodynes; and though she did not regain her health, she had hope in her death. Unquestionably a clergyman may injure a sick individual by indiscreet remarks; but so may a physician by indiscreet prescriptions. But this is no reason why both should not be sent for. The character of both should be considered. There is little attention in the theological training of candidates for the gospel ministry in regard to the delicate and often difficult duty of visiting the sick. I well remember my own embarrassment, and want of furniture for this important service, in the first part of my pastoral life; and in looking over my diary at that period, I find the expression of anxiety lest I had omitted a part of my duty, in a case that is stated.

3. THE CATECHISING OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH.

To this part of ministerial duty I look back with far greater satisfaction than to that which I have last reviewed.

On examining my diary, I find that for a considerable time in which I was a collegiate pastor with Dr. Sproat, I every week attended on two classes of catechumens—one in the church, or in a contiguous school-house, and the other in my own study. The former of these classes consisted of the children of the congregation generally, and the shorter catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines was the only thing taught, except some verbal explanations of the answers to the several questions, with a short, serious, and affectionate address, always concluded with prayer. The second class was not numerous. It consisted of those who were so familiar with the shorter catechism that they could ask all the questions it contained without book; and the first exercise consisted in my asking a single question; and then the individual who returned the answer, put the next question to the contiguous individual, and thus the whole of the questions of the catechism were asked and answered in about twenty minutes. Some explanations of the answers were frequently given; but the greater part of the exercise consisted of an examination on five chapters of the Bible, previously appointed. After I had questioned my catechumens, I invited them to put questions to me on the chapters which we had gone over; and I permitted them to bring questions in writing, which they sometimes

did by the help of their parents. This I was so far from disapproving, that I hoped that both parents and children would be profited by the practice. But I recollect one instance in which a written question was submitted to me, which I told them I would answer in the following week. The truth was, I wanted time to examine and reflect on the subject to which the question related. After the death of Dr. Sproat, and before my connexion with Dr. Janeway, I engaged Mr. Joseph Eastburn to attend to the catechetical instruction of the children at Campington. He did so for a time; but finding that the parents of the children and many others attended on his exhortations, he gradually became an exhorter of the adult population and neglected the children altogether; that is, he ceased to catechise them; but, I believe, often addressed them on the subject of their souls' concerns. I wrote his life and inserted it in the sixth volume of the *Christian Advocate*. It was afterwards published in a separate form. An engraved likeness accompanied the life. When I became connected with Dr. Janeway, we made arrangements for the regular catechising of all the children of the congregation whose parents were disposed to send them for instruction. We had a book—and I have it yet—in which the names of the children were entered, and their absence and presence at each meeting was noted. I also formed and printed in a pamphlet form, a manual of devotion for children of different ages, partly extracted from Dr. Watts and partly of my own composition; and each catechumen according to his or her age, com-

mitted one of the prayers to memory. The youngest children were divided into classes, according to the progress they had made. The first volume of my catechetical lectures was addressed to the youth who had been previously my catechumens. The second volume of these lectures was never orally delivered. My call to the presidentship of the College of New Jersey prevented my going through the catechism, after I had proceeded as far as the commandments. This is more particularly stated in the preface to the lectures.

CHAPTER XV.

CHAPLAINCY OF CONGRESS.

I WAS first elected chaplain of congress on the 5th of November, 1792, and was re-elected by every successive congress till the removal to Washington in 1800; so that I was in the chaplaincy, in connection with Bishop White, for eight years. When I was elected the first time, I made the following entry in my diary: "This day I have been elected one of the chaplains of congress. It has been done without my knowledge, or even suspicion. I have heretofore thought and resolved, that if ever such a choice should take place, that I would immediately resign. The consumption of time, and the manner in which it has been represented to me that the duty of prayer is treated in congress, have been my motives; and they are still strong. Yet I think it will be my duty to attend prayers to-morrow morning. Many of my friends dissuade me from resignation. In the evening I drew up and committed to memory a prayer to use in congress to-morrow morning.

Nov. 6th. My mind this morning was divided and undetermined about the duty of resigning the chaplaincy. My inclination is in favour of resigning. On the whole I determined to write my resignation, and carry it with me; and I made it the subject of particular prayer to God, that by his providence and spirit he would direct me to my duty in this concern; that he

would prevent me from doing any thing amiss in one way or the other. Just as I was finishing my letter of resignation, Bishop White, the other chaplain, came to see me, and contradicted so positively the reports of indecency in the behaviour of the members as greatly to relieve my scruples on that head. He moreover informed me that I would not have to attend more than every other week, as one chaplain can pray in both houses; this removes in a great measure my objection as to time. I considered this call as providential, and promised the Bishop not to resign to-day. Attended and prayed in congress, and went afterwards and heard the President's speech in the senate chamber. Came home, chose a text, and began a sermon. Attended the funeral of Mary Herring, and spoke at the grave. Then went and drank tea with Mrs. Hodge; went afterwards to brother Smith's, and spent part of the evening in consulting with him about the duty of resigning the chaplaincy. He advises me, and thinks it my duty not to resign until I have some proof from my own observation, that the members are irreverent; and on the whole I think I shall act on this plan."

I ought to state, that the reports I heard of the irreverence with which the members of congress attended prayers were slanderous. In the whole eight years of my chaplaincy, I saw no irreverence of any kind. Something the most like it, occurred in the senate. A member was busily engaged in writing a letter; and when the signal was given for prayers (which was done by the vice-president striking his desk with a key,) he remained writing. I went to the chaplain's desk, and stood for a minute or two waiting for him to rise, and

determined that I would not commence the service till he did rise. At length he looked up from his writing and saw the other members all standing, when with evident embarrassment he rose hastily, and I immediately commenced praying. His engagedness in writing, I was convinced, prevented his hearing or attending to the signal for prayers. This was the only thing that looked like irreverence while I was chaplain.

During the first five years of my chaplaincy, Washington was President of the United States and the elder Adams was Vice President. When Washington resigned, Adams was advanced to the Presidentship, and Jefferson was elected Vice President. Infidel though he was, he was more courteous to the chaplains than his predecessor had been. Adams, indeed, never treated the chaplains with any visible disrespect, but after attending prayers in the House of Representatives, we often had to wait from a quarter to half an hour for the arrival of the Vice President in the senate chamber. Jefferson on the contrary, made it a rule for himself never to keep us waiting for a minute. When he, on a certain occasion violated this rule, (and I never knew him to do it but once,) he said to me after prayers—"Dr. Green, I owe you an apology for keeping you waiting for me this morning." I said to him that I thought no apology was necessary. "Yes," said he, "it is; but I wish you to understand that I was deceived by my watch;" and taking out his watch he desired me to look at it, which at his request I did, and found that it was a quarter of an hour too slow. His infidelity was generally known, but not openly avowed till after his death. He charged his grandson, in his

will, to publish certain papers which he left, which when printed filled, if I rightly recollect, four octavo volumes. These volumes contained, among other things, a mass of infidelity of the most malignant and abusive kind. I reviewed them in the *Christian Advocate*, of which I was the editor, and was urged to publish the review in a separate form; but this I declined.

About one-third of the members in congress in each house were commonly present at prayers. On one occasion I expressed to a member, who was a professor of religion and with whom I was well acquainted, the feeling of regret I experienced, that the attendance on prayers was not of a greater number. "Will you," said he in reply, "tell me on your veracity, whether our attendance is not as good as that of the members of your General Assembly, or Synod, at your constituting prayer in the morning?" I was completely confounded with this interrogation; for on recollection I was convinced that our ecclesiastical bodies were not more numerously attended at the opening prayer than was the fact in the congress of the United States, and this I had to admit to the member to whom I had expressed my regret at the beginning of the conversation on the subject. I have frequently mentioned the fact which I here record to my clerical brethren, but with too little effect to the present hour. It was the usage under President Washington's administration, that the chaplains of congress should dine with him once in every month, while congress was in session. This brought me often in the presence of the illustrious man whose fame has filled the world. It was among the rare qualities that distinguished Washington, that in com-

mon conversation he never expressed his feelings on an event or a subject that affected a foreign nation, and never, while a subject was under debate in congress, let his opinion be publicly known on that subject. I will give an example of each of these traits of character, to which I was an eye and ear witness.

Some time after the formation of Jay's celebrated treaty with Great Britain, there was a rumour in Philadelphia, that a large mob in London had set the government at defiance, destroyed Pitt's house, and threatened the tower of London. At the origin of this rumour it was my day to dine with the President. On going out of my house, I found a newspaper stating this report in large print, I read it hastily and went as fast as I could to the President's dwelling. When I entered the drawing-room I found the company that had assembled there all engaged in talking about the rumour. The President asked me if I had seen any newspaper that referred to it, remarking at the time that he had seen none. I told him that I had found a paper in my entry as I was leaving my house to come to his dinner, and had hastily read an article on the subject; he asked me what vessel had brought the intelligence, and what was its date, &c. The rumour was the subject of conversation, not only in the drawing-room, but at the table; and I watched the President most attentively to see if I could discover his feelings on the occasion. But although he talked about it, I think no mortal could have discovered whether he thought it was true or false, or whether he wished it to be one or the other. From all that he said, or any appearance in his countenance, his whole deportment was

such as would have been if he had been conversing about some abstract proposition not calculated to interest the feelings of any one. The other instance to which I referred is as follows. A warm debate was going on in congress, on a day that I was to dine with the President, and in the drawingroom he was sitting between me and a member of congress, who directly put to him the inquiry, what was his opinion on the subject then before the House of Representatives. A perfectly equivocal answer was returned. The member who had made the inquiry, supposing his question had been misunderstood, stated it again, and again the answer was as equivocal as before. But to my astonishment, the member did not see the President's intention to waive an explicit answer, and the third time repeated his question. But it fortunately happened that at the moment a stranger entered the room, and the President went (as was his custom) to speak to him, and took care when he had done so to take a seat on the opposite side of the room. There was more of the indefinable quality called *presence* in President Washington, than any other person I have ever known. In his general manners he was eminently courteous and kind; and yet to the last, I could never speak to him without feeling a degree of embarrassment such as I have never felt in the presence of any other individual, man or woman, with whom I was well acquainted. In his observance of appointments he was punctiliously exact. After I was chaplain, I believe I was present at all his speeches on the opening of a session of congress; for the custom of sending a message to congress, which was introduced by Mr. Jeffer-

son, was then unknown. Twelve o'clock at noon, was the usual hour agreed on for his opening speech, and in no instance did he fail in a punctual attendance at that hour; indeed, he commonly crossed the threshold of the door where the congress sat, exactly when the clock was striking the hour of twelve. The two houses always assembled to receive him in the senate chamber. When he entered, all the members of both houses rose from their seats, and stood up until he had taken his seat, which he did immediately after bowing to his audience. When he was seated, he looked around on the audience for a minute or two, and then took out his spectacles from a common red morocco case, and laid them on his knee, and then took from his side-pocket his written speech. After putting on his spectacles, he rose and began his address, which he read closely. He read distinctly and audibly, but in no other respect was his reading excellent. Dr. Witherpoon had heard George the Third deliver one of his speeches to the British parliament, which he said was in the very best style of elocution. This could not be said of the speeches of Washington; his elocution had no glaring fault, and no high excellence. In private, as well as in public, his punctuality was observable. He had a well regulated clock in his entry, by which the movements of his whole family, as well as his own were regulated. At his dinner parties he allowed five minutes for the variation of time pieces, and after they were expired he would wait for no one. Some lagging members of congress came in when not only dinner was begun, but considerably advanced. His only apology was, "Sir, or Gentlemen, we are too punctual for

you;" or in pleasantry, "Gentlemen, I have a cook, who never asks whether the company has come, but whether the hour has come." Washington sat as a guest at his dinner table, about half way from its head to its foot. The place of the chaplain was directly opposite to the President. The company stood while the blessing was asked, and on a certain occasion, the President's mind was probably occupied with some interesting concern, and on going to the table he began to ask a blessing himself. He uttered but a word or two, when bowing to me, he requested me to proceed, which I accordingly did. I mention this because it shows that President Washington always asked a blessing himself, when a chaplain was not present.

Under the administration of Washington one scene of turbulent disorder occurred in the House of Representatives. The federal party was at that time dominant; and there was in the democratic party an individual who became the butt of their ridicule. It was carried so far that he at length spat in the face of the member who was ridiculing him. There the matter ended at the time. But the next morning before the house was called to order, the member whose face had been defiled, having prepared a cudgel, undertook to chastise the man whom he had provoked, and did inflict upon him a number of blows before he was arrested by the spectators. It became the subject of much party discussion in the house. A motion was made to expel the spitting member; but it was resisted, as his opponent was confessedly the aggressor in the first instance. But in a few days a picture appeared in the print shops, in which the

chaplain was represented as standing at his desk preparing to engage in prayer, while the cudgeling was represented as taking place on the floor of the house before him. I was the chaplain interested, and there was either a fancied or real likeness of some features of my face. But the whole of this, so far as the chaplain was concerned, existed no where but in the mind of him who was the maker of the picture. I was not a witness of the scuffle at all, and knew of it only by information, though I heard some of the debates on the motion to expel the spitting member. He was not expelled.

I have already taken occasion to mention the eloquent speech of Mr. Ames in the House of Representatives. I am now to mention two eloquent speeches in the Senate. Mr. Gallatin's election to the Senate by the legislature of Pennsylvania was contested on the ground that he was not eligible as a senator according to the qualifications prescribed in the constitution of the United States. The leading members of both parties, excepting the two members from New York, Mr. King and Col. Burr, had put forth all their powers on this occasion. King was a federalist, and Burr was a democrat, and there had been much manoeuvring between them to secure the advantage of speaking last. King had this advantage of his antagonist, that he was determined not to speak at all, unless Burr should speak before him. But Burr's party could not dispense with his speech. The vice-president, Mr. Adams, was just going to put the question, or rather he had uttered two or three words preparatory to it, when Burr arose and commenced his address. He spoke, if I mistake not, for more than an hour in the most fluent,

graceful, and insinuating manner; his arguments were so specious that they appeared irresistible. King's eloquence was entirely of a different character. His plea was made up rather of *demands* powerfully enforced, than of *persuasion* artfully conducted. It exhibited more of the ancient style of impassioned eloquence than I had ever seen before or have ever witnessed since. His countenance at one time was strongly expressive of indignation or disgust, and at another of pleasure and delight. His action was vehement. In arguing he often raised his hand as he added one thought to another, till at the close he brought it down with violence on a book that was before him, as if to seal what he had said. In the course of his speech he once leaped about two feet from the floor. In a word, his action would have been ludicrous if he had not taken his hearers along with him. But this he did effectually, and he knew that he could do it. The audience, both friends and foes, hung upon his lips and had their feelings deeply interested from the beginning to the end of his speech. The senate chamber was densely crowded on this occasion, but the chaplains were always accommodated when they chose to be so, in the secretary's desk, the place where they offered their prayers at the commencement of business in the morning.

On the 4th of March, 1797, the presidentship of Washington terminated, and on this occasion the clergy of the city and vicinity presented to him a written address, drawn up by myself, to which he returned a very courteous answer. In my review of Jefferson's papers, in the 8th volume of the Christian Advocate,

the whole circumstances of this transaction are explained; and the address, with the names of those who signed it, and the President's answer, may there be seen.*

Nearly all the usages which Washington had established, were adopted by Mr. Adams on his accession to the presidency. There was one, however, that was new. Washington had several times called his fellow citizens to the duty of either fasting or of thanksgiving; and the proclamations which he issued for the purpose were probably written by himself. But Mr. Adams requested the chaplains of congress to furnish him with draughts of two proclamations which he issued for the fasts to which he called the public during his administration. Bishop White and myself accordingly each made a draught of the first contemplated proclamation, and comparing them together, the bishop, (to whom as the oldest chaplain I deferred) chose to take a considerable part of mine and to connect it with his own. On the second occasion, which was about a year after the first, (the first being in March, 1798, the second in the same month of the following year, 1799) the bishop devolved the whole business on me. To remove the complaint which I knew the religious community of our country had made, namely, that the proclamation calling them to the duty of thanksgiving or fasting lacked a decidedly Christian spirit, I resolved to write one of an evangelical character which should not be liable to this objection, and to take the risk of its being rejected or altered by the President. This I accord-

* Appendix, E.

ingly did, and my draught was published with only the alteration of two or three words not at all affecting the religious character of my production. The commendation bestowed on this proclamation by the pious people of our country was ardent and general. It was of course supposed that the President had written it himself, and I said and did nothing to undeceive them. Indeed the sanction given it by the President made it virtually his own act.

CHAPTER XVI.

PESTILENCE.

THE yellow fever appeared in Philadelphia in the years 1793, 1797, 1798, 1799, and 1802. Before the yellow fever was recognized as such, in 1793, I had occasion in the discharge of my pastoral duties to visit two families that suffered from its ravages, and attend the funerals of its victims. The first family was in Water street, near the centre of the infected district, where the disease first made its appearance. In the other case, the subject of this fatal malady lying on the sacking-bottom of his bed, had bled so much from his mouth and nose, as to run through the sacking-bottom, and to make a puddle of blood under him on the floor; and his corpse was so fetid when carried to the grave, that my colleague and myself could not walk near it. The influenza had preceded the yellow fever, and when I was taken ill after the yellow fever was distinctly recognized, I endeavoured to persuade myself that it was the influenza which affected me. My wife was ill of a fever at the same time, and more severely so than myself. The physician of the family was Dr. Hodge, whose daughter was among the first victims of the pestilence, and one of those I had visited, and whose funeral I had attended. When I perceived that he was anxious, and judging also by the remedies he prescribed, I took him aside, and requested him to tell

me candidly, whether in his judgment I and my wife were suffering under the prevailing epidemic. He answered my inquiry in the affirmative, but encouraged me to hope for the best. My wife did not know of this inquiry, nor of its result. She, however, had been exposed to infection, and had strong suspicions that she was labouring under the prevailing malady. When we were both beginning to mend, we were called out of the city by a most extraordinary occurrence. A mulatto lad who had once lived in my family, was at this time employed as a driver of a hack between Philadelphia and Princeton. I never knew by what means he became informed that our youngest child had been sent with his nurse to his grandparents in the vicinity of Princeton, but he had the address to persuade the company in his hack to permit him to go on foot nearly a quarter of a mile, to inquire about the health of our child; the hack in the meantime remaining without motion in the road. The grandmother of the child, after telling him that our babe had been very ill the preceding night, but was much better in the morning, and pointing to the nurse's arms, asked Jack, (the name of the mulatto) whether there was not a fatal fever prevailing in Philadelphia? Jack told her that such was the fact. Then said the grandmother, tell my daughter that she had better come to Princeton. This was the message sent; but that which was delivered was—that our child was thought to be dying last night, was a little better this morning; but that my wife and myself were requested to go immediately to Princeton. I consulted our physician whether he thought it would be safe for me and my wife to travel

in our weak state. The answer was, that in an easy carriage he thought we might go to Princeton without injury, perhaps with advantage. An easy carriage with a driver was obtained, and my wife and myself with our two other children set out on our journey, fearing that we were going to the funeral of our babe. The weather was oppressively warm, and we suffered greatly in travelling; and to add to our distress, one of our children began to vomit while we were on our journey, and the other also as soon as we arrived at its end. As the yellow fever sometimes commenced with this symptom, I did not know but that we had all left the city to die together at Princeton. In the best manner I could, I endeavoured to commit all to God, and after taking a large draught of wine whey, I lay down on a bed, and fell in a sound sleep. When I awoke, I found that my mother-in-law had prepared for me a part of a broiled chicken. This was the first animal substance I had tasted in about ten days; even the smell of animal food had been intolerably offensive during that period. We were delivered of our apprehension at Bristol in regard to our youngest child, by a gentleman who had left Princeton in the morning of the day on which we had set out on our journey, and who was acquainted with the fact that the child was doing well; and our other children after a night's rest were free from all complaint. But my anxiety about my people in the city, when I was so far recovered as to be able to return to them, was all but intolerable. My family was decidedly opposed to the idea of my return; but this did not satisfy me as to the matter of my duty. At length, I was greatly relieved

by a letter from my venerable colleague, in which he told me, "that he could not advise my return." This was soon followed by a letter from one of the elders of the church which I served, who had remained in the city, and had himself been very ill with the yellow fever, dehorting me from thinking of a return, till the city should become healthy. But before I received these letters, my mind was at times in an agony. The number of deaths among the people of my charge was great. The family of Dr. Sproat was almost annihilated by this calamity. Himself, his wife, his eldest son, and youngest daughter, became its victims. After I heard of his death, I began to compose his funeral sermon, and to prepare one to be delivered the first time I should address the people of my charge after my return. Of this return, my diary will give the best account, and for several days thereafter.

"1793, *Nov.* 9th. This day I left Princeton to go to Philadelphia; called at Trenton, dined at Bristol, and lodged at Frankford at Mr. Smith's, who received me very kindly.

10th. Sabbath. I rode into the city, and went directly to the church. It was the most solemn and affecting scene I ever witnessed. The pulpit was hung in black, and the greater part of the audience were in mourning for their nearest relatives or friends. I had been absent from the people for about three months. All the circumstances taken together almost overcame both me and the audience. I wept through the whole of the exercises, as did most of the people. I preached in the morning and afternoon. I dined at Mr. McLane's and drank tea at Mr. Hazard's. On the 13th my family

returned home, when we were informed of the death of Mrs. Sproat, which took place this day about one o'clock.

14th. Attended the funeral of Mrs. Sproat, and then visited the family in company with brother Smith.

15th. Studied diligently, and wrote on my funeral sermon for Dr. Sproat, and nearly completed it.

16th. Sabbath. Preached in the morning my funeral sermon. The people were extremely affected under the sermon.* In the afternoon I preached my second sermon on the exercises of the heavenly state.

17th. I attended a meeting of the clergy of the city for the purpose of concerting measures for the suppression of the theatre.

24th. Wrote on a proposed address to the public against the theatre, which I carried in the afternoon to a meeting of the clergy. I remained at this meeting till evening."

I shall not quote my diary farther at present, but state in general that the address mentioned under the last date was finished and published. The clergy of the city generally, but not universally, petitioned the legislature of the State to repeal the law which sanctioned the theatre, or rather to re-enact that which prohibited it, and which, as heretofore stated, they had repealed. But it was all in vain.

Deprived of my first colleague, the burden of my ministerial duties was greatly increased. In the course of the winter which succeeded the yellow fever of 1793, measures were adopted by the second and third Presbyterian churches of Philadelphia to obtain the services

* Appendix, F.

of Mr. Abeel, on the plan that he should serve the second church two-thirds of his time, and the third church the remaining third. It was an ill contrived arrangement, and did not last long. He was called from the Dutch Church in New York, and that church finding that he was not contented with his situation in Philadelphia, recalled him. He was a most amiable man, and one of the best preachers of our country. But it was impossible for him in his youth to satisfy either of the congregations which he served with the number of his pulpit services, or with his pastoral visitations of the people. He was popular in New York, and the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him there; but he died in early life, and was greatly and deservedly lamented. Before he became my colleague, and during the whole period which elapsed after his removal till the summer of 1799, when Dr. Janeway was called as co-pastor with me, my ministerial duties were onerous to the extreme. In stating my religious exercises on one occasion, I find a complaint in my diary, that I was so hurried by numerous engagements that I could scarcely find time for secret prayer.

On the recurrence of the yellow fever in 1797, I took my family to Princeton, but for myself I determined to preach to the few individuals of my pastoral charge that remained in the city. I had been absent from my people during the greater part of the fearful calamity of 1793, and I was desirous to show them that I was ready to face danger in their service. I had an additional motive. I thought my people were rather remiss in their endeavours to get me a colleague, and I cherished the hope that my zeal in serving them

would stimulate them to more active exertions. By far the larger part of my congregation had left the city as soon as it was fully ascertained that the pestilence had appeared among us. In general, it was the poorer part that remained, but the churches in the city, except one of the Methodist denomination were closed, and probably the larger part of my audience were not of my own pastoral charge; taken together, the people to whom I preached were in number about the third part of my ordinary congregations in time of health. I purchased a horse and had a chaise at command, so that I visited my family every week during the calamity. This I did, that I might relieve their fears, and promote my own health. My wife told me that if I considered it my duty to go weekly to the city, she considered it her duty to accompany me. My answer was, "Very well my dear, try it." She did try it once, and but once after the disease became alarming. An old black servant from Carolina had the charge of our house, and did our marketing. All visiting of friends had ceased. My wife spent a gloomy day. At length she heard the rumbling of carriage wheels. "There now, she cried, is a hearse, let us go to the door and see it." To the door we accordingly went, and on opening it, the hearse with a coffin in it was directly before us. My wife sank back into my arms. I said to her, "My love—to use a military phrase—if you cannot stand fire better than this, I think it is clear that you ought to remain at Princeton, and not come here until our city is free from pestilence." I accordingly took her to Princeton after I had performed my Sabbath day's exercises in the

church, and she showed no disposition to accompany me again.

I met with an occurrence of a very disagreeable kind. I was greatly afflicted with a swimming in my head, which was always increased by the elevation of the pulpit. To relieve it, I stood in a circular pew at the foot of the pulpit, from which I could easily address my small audience. When the service on a certain occasion was somewhat advanced, I saw a woman whose face was much flushed coming up the broad aisle of the church, and taking a seat at a little distance from me. I was accustomed, in order to avoid intercourse with the people, to remain in the pew from which I had spoken till the whole congregation had retired. But the woman whom I have mentioned had no disposition to retire till she had spoken to me. I was standing up with my hand on the top of the enclosure of the pew. She approached and laid hold of my hand. I sought gently to disengage it, but she grasped it more firmly, and drew me toward her saying, "I believe you don't know me;" and as she spoke these words, she breathed full in my face, and her breath was the most fetid that I have ever known, it seemed to go down to the bottom of my stomach. As soon as I decently could, I left her, returned home, washed my hands and face, took a glass of wine, and tried to forget what had happened. What became of the woman, I know not. She was either in liquor, or under disease, or more probably both. As far as I recollect, no ill consequence to myself followed the occurrence. It pleased God to favour me during this calamity with great consolation in my religious exercises and feelings. I was in the habit of

making a statement in my diary on Saturday evening, of my religious exercises during the previous week.

I desire to record with the liveliest gratitude the goodness of God in preserving me and my family during the late calamity ; in giving me the most comfortable time in religion that I ever experienced ; for preserving me from disease, and from any distressing fear of it in the health of my wife and children ; in having a place of safety and comfort to go to, and in bringing all together again in safety. Let me be more entirely devoted to the service and glory of God than I ever yet have been.

If ever I preached with fervour, like a dying man to a dying man, it was during the time of this calamity. And yet, I never heard of an unconverted sinner that was awakened by any of the discourses which I delivered. During a season of pestilence, unsanctified men were commonly so engrossed with apprehensions of danger, and with the means and measures which they adopt to protect themselves from the prevailing disease, that any occasional impressions which they experience from alarming sermons, are soon lost in the anxiety they feel and the means they use to preserve their bodily health, and by exciting occurrences by which they are on all sides surrounded. The collecting together of large and promiscuous assemblies is moreover calculated to spread infection. I, therefore, in the following year, in which the pestilence was much more fatal than in 1797, had no scruples in taking the measures which I am now to state.

I find by an entry in my diary of the 4th of August, 1798, that for the week preceding that date, "there

had been a good deal of talk about the yellow fever," and that a man whose funeral I had attended had died of that disease. On the 14th of the month I took my wife and a female servant to the residence of my father-in-law, in the vicinity of Princeton, having previously sent my children thither. I returned, however, myself, on the following Saturday, and lodged with Dr. Boudinot at Rose Hill. The family were so importunate with me not to venture into the city, that I wrote a letter to the sexton of the church that I was not to be expected; the letter was to be sent by Dr. Boudinot's black servant. But after the letter was written, and I had retired to my bed, my mind was so uneasy that I could not sleep till I had changed my purpose, and resolved to go and preach and advise all my people who could leave the city to escape for their lives. This I accordingly did, and to this in a great measure it was probably owing that, under the blessing of God, very few of my congregation became the victims of the pestilence in this year. To those of my charge who I knew could not leave the city, I said as much as I conscientiously could to alleviate their fears, exhorting them to put their trust in God, seeing that in the order of his providence it was impracticable for them to go from their homes. I told the people explicitly that I could not see any call of duty that they should assemble for public worship, or that I should attend to preach while the city should remain in its present state.

In my retirement at the farm of my father-in-law, I did not spend my time in idleness. I wrote four or five elaborate discourses, in two of which I discussed the subject of pestilence in its various aspects, and

which I delivered to my people after my return. I also endeavoured to raise a contribution for the poor of our afflicted city, giving myself as much as I could spare. I preached frequently in Princeton, and attended the examination for degrees, and did business with the trustees of the College, to whose board I belonged, and with them I attended the annual commencement. On one occasion I went to New Brunswick, spent a Sabbath there, and preached twice. I also employed my time in writing to some of the leading individuals of my congregation who had remained in the city; and made one address to the people generally, which was afterwards printed. In a word, I was occupied diligently. By one entry in my diary, I perceive that I thought I had injured my health by close study and reading. On the 3d of November, 1798, I returned with my eldest son to the city, and preached to my people on the following Sabbath; the rest of my family returned on the 6th of the month.

In the pestilence of the following year, 1799, I did not leave the city with my family till the 27th of August. In the mean time I lost my esteemed clerical brother, the Rev. Dr. John B. Smith, who died of the yellow fever. On the night following the 21st of the month I visited him in his sickness, and did all I could to comfort his widow after his decease. She retired to Harrowgate immediately after the death of her husband, but shortly removed to Germantown. I visited her at both these places, and prayed with her. Her grief was great, and at first all but overwhelming.

My colleague and myself returned to the city once after we left it on account of the prevalence of the fever,

but after that we both paid a visit to our parents. I preached three times at Hanover, and twice at Morristown, and frequently at Princeton. On the 20th of October I went to the city; and on that day, which was the Sabbath, I preached; after which, in the following week, I returned to my family at Princeton, and on the 25th we all returned in safety to the city.

In the year 1802 the pestilence appeared in Philadelphia unusually early. I find in my diary of the 12th of July, the following entry. "Reports of the yellow fever are very prevalent. I have heard a good deal of it for two or three days past." I sent my children to their grandparents on the 17th of the month, but I remained with my wife and the rest of the family in the city, and was busily employed in all my clerical duties till the 4th of August. At that date we went and joined our children at Mr. Stockton's farm in the vicinity of Princeton. After preaching two Sabbaths in Princeton, I went with my wife and paid a visit to my mother at Hanover, where I also preached on the Sabbath after my arrival. We then went and spent about a week at the springs on Schooley's Mountain, and I preached on the Sabbath at Hackets' town. We returned to my mother's, and thence to Princeton. Leaving my wife there, on Mr. Ralston's invitation to me and my colleague, we took lodgings with him at his country seat. He took us into the city in his carriage on the Lord's day, and we preached alternately there; the service at Campington being wholly omitted. Mr. Ralston also accompanied me to the commencement at Princeton on the last Wednesday in September, and I find it noted in my journal that "I had some sweet

christian conversation with this excellent man" as we rode together in his carriage. I preached on the morning of one Lord's day at Germantown, during the season of the pestilence, but did not omit my customary service in the city on the afternoon of the same day. I also spent some time very pleasantly with Dr. Boudinot's family at Rose Hill, paid a visit to my family at Princeton, returned to Rose Hill, and preached in the city on the last Sabbath of October, still making my home with the family of Dr. Boudinot. My whole family returned to the city on the sixth of November, on which occasion I wrote this in my diary: "Thanks to God who has preserved us all from the pestilence, shown us many favours, and returned us again to our home. O let us live to his praise; I hope this day I have had some freedom at the throne of grace."

CHAPTER XVII.

INFLUENZA AND NEPHRITIC COMPLAINTS.

IF I rightly recollect, it was in the spring of 1789 that the influenza first appeared in the United States. At that time it attacked me very severely, and its violence ended in chronic rheumatism. From this complaint I was not entirely delivered till I went to the Warm and Sweet Springs of Virginia in the summer of 1800. Whenever I took cold, which was very frequent, I was almost sure to be attacked by rheumatic pains in some part of my body. In two or three instances my life was threatened, the head and loins being assailed. As is commonly the case, nephritic complaints were produced by the rheumatism. I suffered severely from the gravel and from incipient formation of stone in the bladder. From the latter I was delivered in a most merciful and wonderful manner. On the 28th of January, 1800, I find the following entry in my diary:—"This morning I was relieved of a piece of gravel or stone as large as a bean. Through divine goodness it came away without much pain. O how good is God to me! O that I could trust him with steady and cheerful confidence! If ever a creature had reason to do so, I have. This morning too, my mind fell into a sweet contemplation of the free grace of God; that it is most emphatically *free*. I also had a view of my infinite unworthiness,

and yet that this does not exclude me from the hope of the gospel, but that it is intended to break my heart with admiration of the boundless condescension of God and the Saviour in preparing salvation for such a creature. Attended prayers in congress, and on my return, went and conversed and prayed with Mrs. Fintham; had company at my house in the evening. Some time before this, certain adverse providential dispensations conspired with a natural melancholy temperament and my other infirmities to produce a deep gloom of mind, which continued so far as melancholy was concerned, for nearly three years. But still I went forward with little abatement in the performance of all my duties, both public and private. For God was pleased at intervals to give me such sweet and encouraging access to his throne as I never had previously experienced, though I had, by some means, attained to a degree of the assurance of hope.

2. MY JOURNEY TO VIRGINIA.

On the 7th of July, 1800, in company with Mr. James Strawbridge, I set out on a journey to the Warm and Sweet Springs of Virginia. On the 10th, after a fatiguing ride through a warm day, I was attacked by a violent cholera morbus, which detained us until the following day. The above is the only occurrence of a personal kind that I have thought worth notice during our whole journey to the Sweet Springs of Virginia. I shall however, give from my diary what took place on two Sabbaths, to be followed by several other extracts.

“July 13th. Sabbath. Set out early on our journey

and came to Charleston, where we took breakfast. I sent a message to the house of the minister of the place Mr. Mines, and had some thoughts of spending the day here but the clergyman was not at home, and there was no alternative but to spend the day at the tavern or to go on our journey, and I preferred the latter. I read the Scriptures in the carriage, and conversed some with Mr. Strawbridge on religion, and I hope had some freedom in prayer during the day. We dined at a vile tavern, and arrived at Winchester in the evening where we found good accommodations, and where I wrote a letter to my wife."

"*July* 20th. Sabbath. Set out for the Springs after breakfast, we crossed the Warm Spring mountain and arrived at the Springs about eleven o'clock. Blessed be God for his mercies in bringing me here in safety. I was invited to preach, which I did in the afternoon with considerable comfort to myself. Before service, I had in secret one of the sweetest meltings of soul in view of divine things that I have ever experienced.

21st. Went into the bath for the first time. Spent the day at the tavern where we have taken our lodgings. Mr. Wilson, a clergyman of the neighbourhood came and spent the day with me."

Besides my diary, I kept what I denominated a *miscellany*, in which I wrote an account of the natural curiosities of the region through which I travelled—of the various springs which I visited, of the remarkable caves of Virginia, and of the Natural Bridge, which I considered as the greatest curiosity that I saw. This miscellany I loaned to a physician in Philadelphia, which was never returned.

The time I spent at the Warm Spring was less by a day or two than three weeks. The remainder of the time till the 17th of September was spent in going to, and remaining at the Sweet Spring. At the last date, our company set forward on our journey homeward. During the whole time I past at the springs, I preached on the Lord's day once, and often twice; I also baptised two or three children. The Sweet Springs at the time I visited them belonged to an old gentleman by the name of Lewis. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church, and when he found that I preached on the Lord's day, he sent me a bed and sheets; so I fared better than most of the company, who lodged in the log huts; two rows of which with very scanty accommodations, were all that the most of the visitants of the spring were favoured with. We seldom made a dinner without plenty of venison. One day we missed it, and found on inquiry, that our provider had differed with the hunters. He insisting that he would give but a penny a pound for the venison, and they contending for raising the price. How the matter was settled, I do not know, but I think our favourite meat was missing but for a single day.

Bishop Madison, of Virginia, visited the Sweet Springs, and preached once during his stay, an able sermon on the evidences of the truth of the Christian religion. I spent my time agreeably in his company the few days he remained with us. He was a gentleman and a scholar.

Among the various characters attending both the Warm and the Sweet Springs, there were two individuals of whom I shall take some particular notice in addi-

tion to those I have already mentioned. The first of these was a Major Willys, who had been an officer of the regular revolutionary army of our country, but had, if I remember right, left the army at an early part of the war. He was remarkable for the size of his body, as well as for the peculiarities of his mind. He was weighed at the Sweet Spring, and I was careful to enter in my lost miscellany the result. He was certainly the largest and heaviest man I have ever seen, tall and well proportioned, but exceedingly fleshy. He had acquired a considerable degree of liberal knowledge, and was a wit and a mimic. He was at the head of all the gamblers of Virginia. When I heard of his coming to the Warm Spring, where I had got the company to treat religion respectfully, I said to a serious man who was well acquainted with Major Willys, that I was fearful he would give me trouble. "That" said the pious man, "is an unnecessary fear; the Major values himself on being a friend to the clergy, and although he is dreadfully profane, he never swears in the presence of a minister of the gospel of whatever denomination." This testimony I found to be strictly true. He not only attended public worship, but was an advocate for asking a blessing and returning thanks at our common meals. He left the Sweet and returned to the Warm Spring before I left the former, and the report was, that at the latter place he asked a blessing and gave thanks himself. This I could easily believe, when I was credibly informed, that at the Sweet Spring he said to a circle of his gambling friends, "Gentlemen, you may think of it as you please, and laugh at it as I know you will, and yet it is strictly

true, that I never close my eyes till I have committed myself to the protection of my God." He was dreadfully afraid of death.

On one occasion while at the Sweet Spring he was taken with a fit of fever and ague in the night, and was greatly alarmed lest it should prove mortal. Hearing of it, I visited him in his hut the next morning. But I found him surrounded by his gambling friends, so that I had no good opportunity to address him seriously. He launched out himself into a bitter denunciation of the character of a gambler. "Doctor," said he, "I have two daughters whom I love dearly, and if any man should ask me for the hand of one of them in marriage, be his character in other respects what it might, if he gambled, I would most assuredly refuse him my consent." I immediately said, "Major, if such are your real sentiments, why do you not quit gambling for yourself?" He made me no other reply than this, "Alas, Doctor, I have dipped, and I must go through." After some time he got up and went to the spring, and took a tumbler of water, and then came up and addressed a company that gathered around him: "Gentlemen," said he, "these sick turns that a man has, do him a good deal of good. They make him a sincere penitent for all his sins." I stepped up to the circle that was listening to his harangue, and said to him, "Major, I think I must take an exception to the doctrine that you are inculcating." "How so, Doctor," he replied, "I thought you would second me." I answered, "it seems to me a palpable absurdity for a man to say that he is a sincere penitent for his sins, while at the very time he says so, he determines to go on and

commit the very same sins for which he avows his penitence." "You allow then," replied the Major, "that *for the time being* it makes him a penitent." "That reminds me," said I, "of the following anecdote. A clergyman in New England had a negro by the name of Jack, who had a deadly quarrel with a neighbouring negro by the name of Cuffey. Jack fell dangerously ill, and his master urged him to forgive Cuffey. Jack said that Cuffey was a very bad man, and he could not forgive him. 'I tell you, Jack,' said his master, 'that you must forgive him, or God will not forgive you.' 'Well, massa,' said Jack, 'if *I die* I forgive him, but *if I live*, Cuffey take care.'" I never saw the Major so much confounded, as by this anecdote. He arrived at the Sweet Spring before our company. The number at this spring was much more multitudinous than at the Warm Spring, and I was fearful that if I did not break the ice at first, I should fail to do it afterwards. I got into the wake of Major Willys as we were struggling through the crowd, on our call to dinner, and said to him, "Major, will you do me the favour to call this large company to order that I may ask a blessing before we dine?" "To be sure, I shall," replied Willys. Accordingly he made his way to the head of the table, and with a large carving knife, he struck it repeatedly, and stamping with his foot at the same time, vociferated "*silence*," which, when he had completely obtained, he turned to me and said, "Now, Doctor, you will please to ask a blessing." This man, if a report I have heard be true, died a real penitent.

The other individual to whom I have referred above was a Captain Rose, an unmarried man, of previous

licentious habits, rendered somewhat serious by ill health. I made his acquaintance at the Warm Spring, and if I rightly recollect, it was in consequence of the following incident. I was preaching in the large dining room of the tavern where we took our daily meals. He had taken a seat in such position that on retiring from the room during the sermon he was obliged to pass me and a part of the audience. For this he apologized to me the following day. I told him, as was the truth, that I thought no apology was necessary, as I had imputed his leaving the room to some urgent necessity. "No," said he, "it was not so. The truth is, I could not sit out your sermon. I declare I would rather have stormed the bridge of Lodi under Bonaparte than have heard you to the end of that sermon. But," continued he, "if you will lend me your notes, I will try to read it." This request was complied with, and I believe he did read it. His mind was at that time transiently serious, which I sought in conversation to improve and direct; but on recovering his health, as too commonly happens in such cases, his serious impressions were lost. He went a short time before our company from the Warm Spring to the Sweet. Not long after our arrival at the latter place, Captain Rose received and accepted a challenge to fight a duel, from an Irishman by the name of Maccanalla, who had been educated for a Roman Catholic priest, but had lost all sense of religion; yet was wonderfully superstitious, a gambler, and a drunkard. The duel was to have been fought on Sabbath morning, and Captain Rose called on me a little before church time, as he afterwards told me, to bid me farewell. He did not know at the time that I

was acquainted with the fact that he was pledged to a duel; but the secret had leaked out and come to my ear. Our interview was cut short by the call of his second, as he afterwards told me, to go to the place assigned for the duel. I was engaged to preach, and during the time of the sermon I saw Captain Rose enter the assembly, and after public worship I was informed that a magistrate, a son of the owner of Sweet Spring, had interposed and prevented the duel. I took a walk through the lane that divided the two rows of log huts in which we lodged, soon after I terminated the religious services of the morning, and seeing the door of Captain Rose open, and that he was alone, I went in. He appeared to be glad to see me, and immediately began to narrate the occasion of the duel and the circumstances of the whole affair. He said he had made his will before he went out to the ground, for that Maccanalla was, he knew, a dead shot, as he himself was, and that he had called to bid me farewell when his second called for him. But that Mr. Lewis the magistrate had interposed, and not only prevented the duel but had brought the parties to an explanation, and that the whole matter was finally settled in an *honourable way*, and to the entire satisfaction of both parties. After he had finished his narrative, I said to him, "Captain Rose you have told me the manner in which you have spent your time after your call on me this morning. Shall I tell you how I spent mine?" He requested that I would. I then told him that as soon as he was gone from me, I sought a private retirement to pray for him, that God in his providence would interpose; so that he would not lose his own life

nor shed the blood of his opponent; and that I had rejoiced to find that the whole concern had terminated as he had stated. He appeared to be deeply affected, and only replied "I wish I was more worthy of such kind attention." I overtook his company at a tavern on our return home, and he seemed ready to embrace me for joy. I have never heard from him since.

An eminence denoted Rattlesnake Hill, is in sight of the Sweet Spring, apparently at a distance of about two miles, but the route leading to it is much farther. As my object was to see everything curious, and to prevent time hanging heavily on my hands, I joined a company going to visit the place. We were all on horseback, and I had no thought that the expedition would be attended with danger, till I found that an old farmer in our route who was to be our guide was very reluctant to go. He was bribed however till he consented. In our way to the hill we had to pass over a narrow passage between two precipices, one on either side. It was dangerous to ride over it and we dismounted and led our horses across it. On each side the precipice was probably more than a hundred feet, and the crossing was, I think, not more than a yard in width. We all, however, both on going and returning got over it in safety. The place where the snakes had their burrows was so filled with large rocks that it was not approachable on horseback. We therefore tied our horses to the trees or bushes, and stepped from one rock to another, till our advance party cried out "Here they are!" We killed several snakes, and I cut off the rattle of one of them and brought it home as a curiosity. These reptiles were innumerable on the hill, and not

having ever heard the rattle of one of them before, when our advanced corps had disturbed the whole encampment by killing some of their number, on all sides the warning was given by a general rattle, and I asked one of our company what *insect* it was in the bushes that made so much noise? "*Insect!*" said he, "do you not know that what you hear is the rattle of the rattlesnakes?" We all returned in safety to our quarters, with a resolution on my part never to repeat my visit to Rattlesnake Hill.

On the 17th of September we left the Sweet Spring, and commenced our journey homeward. On the 20th we took a view of the natural bridge, which I considered the greatest curiosity I had ever seen. The arch of the bridge has such an elevation above the stream over which it extends, that the steeple of Christ's church in Philadelphia might stand under it. A gentleman of our company was attended by an Irish servant who thought he could throw a stone so as to hit the under side of the arch, but after he had made his best effort, we judged that he came short of his mark at least twenty feet. We descended the hill which adjoins the bridge and came up to the stream, and had a fair and full view of this wonderful phenomenon standing under the arch. The stream was a mere brook when we saw it, so that we could easily cross it, but when swelled by a powerful rain it became a torrent. On the 21st of the month which was the Sabbath, we arrived at Lexington where I preached, and where we remained on the following day in order to get the harness of our carriage mended. Here I made the acquaintance of the Rev. Dr. Baxter, with

whom I dined, and afterwards visited the Lexington Academy. It contained forty students.

I got home on the 16th of October, and thus wrote in my diary: "My journey has not been productive of all the benefit that I hoped to receive from it; but I hope it has been of considerable service. God has wonderfully preserved me from innumerable dangers, both temporal and spiritual. He has also preserved my family as well as myself, and now I resolve in his strength, that *he shall be my God.*" I had hoped to get rid of my melancholic affection by this journey, and to this the reference is made in the first part of the foregoing sentence; for my rheumatic and nephritic complaints were completely relieved, and have not much troubled me since; but my melancholy continued for nearly two years after my return, and gradually vanished by a monthly blood letting, which I adopted without consulting a physician.

3. BURNING OF THE COLLEGE EDIFICE OF NASSAU HALL.

On the 6th of March, 1802, all the combustible part of the edifice of the College of New Jersey was consumed by fire. The Trustees were of course collected, and it was assigned to me to write an address to the public on that occasion. This I did and printed, and it was widely distributed, and doubtless had a considerable effect.

I likewise made an address by an appointment of the Trustees to the faculty and students, which was printed for the use of the College. I, also, in common with others of the Trustees and friends of the institution, opened a subscription and obtained a considerable

amount of money in Philadelphia, to restore the College edifice. Dr. Smith was requested to visit South Carolina to solicit benefactions. This he consented to do only on the condition that I should take the oversight of the College, and assist the faculty in its government during his absence. To this I agreed, and made several visits to Princeton during the absence of the President, inspecting the college, counselling the faculty, attending examinations, administering discipline, and preaching on the Sabbath. In a word, I believe I may without vanity say, that in restoring Nassau Hall from its disaster by conflagration, I was not less active, and perhaps efficient, than any other individual; and though I was offered a pecuniary remuneration, I refused to receive any beyond the actual expenses incurred.

4. SICKNESS AND DEATH OF MY FIRST WIFE.

On returning from visits to Princeton, I repeatedly found my wife much indisposed, probably from exposure or over exertion in consequence of my absence. Eventually, she was attacked with hydrothorax or water in the chest. Under this disease she laboured for nearly four years. She was frequently relieved by the remedies which were administered, so that she appeared nearly as well as usual, except that she could not dispense for any length of time with the medicine which she used. At length other complaints supervened, and on the 15th of January, 1807, I lost the wife of my youth, after having lived with her in the marriage state twenty-one years, two months, and twelve days. During her long illness, I had to sustain, especially in

journeying for her health, the various characters of physician, husband, pastor, and nurse. She was a patient and humble Christian. On one occasion she surprised and gratified me by saying, "I know I love God, I know I love his Son. When I look at myself, I see nothing but depravity."

5. THE ERECTION OF THE CHURCH EDIFICE AT CAMPINGTON.

Contemporarily with the sickness of my wife, was the erection of a new church at Campington, in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia. The congregation there of our church being at this time collegiate with the Second Church of the city, and my call having been made avowedly with a view to the permanent establishment of a Presbyterian congregation in that location, I felt myself called on to make every exertion in my power in favour of that object. It was manifest that a respectable congregation needed to have a respectable building to worship in; especially in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. Some who were not hostile to the erection of a new church, wished to delay it for another year, and I had to use all my influence to prevent the delay. We had to beg the money to execute our purpose, and my colleague, with Mr. Ralston and myself, were the beggars. We solicited from numerous individuals, and were ultimately successful. The house was open for public worship, as appears from my diary, on the Lord's day, April 7th, 1805. I preached the opening sermon, which was afterwards published. My wife lived to worship once or twice in this church.

6. MY FALL IN THE PULPIT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

I must here state (as I have not stated it in its proper place) that in the month of August, 1796, an occurrence took place that had a lasting influence on my comfort and usefulness. It is thus narrated in my diary:

"August 14th, 1796. Sabbath. When I had nearly done my morning sermon, I was seized with a sudden affection of my head which compelled me to sit down abruptly; or rather I partly fell and partly sat down. After sitting a few minutes I got up and made a short reflection on the occurrence, and gave out a psalm. After the psalm I made a short prayer, in which I had another attack, but did not sit down. I dismissed the congregation, and did not preach in the afternoon. I was obliged to keep very still during the rest of the day. By this event I ought to be forcibly reminded of the importance of being prepared for sudden death; for it is most likely I shall die in this manner. The people of the congregation were apparently much affected, and I pray that it may be sanctified to them. They have shown an anxiety about me more than I expected."

My pulpit services through the whole of my subsequent life were in a considerable degree affected by the occurrence above mentioned. Several times in my pastoral relation to my people, I have been compelled to sit down in the pulpit to prevent falling down; and very often when I continued to speak, I have been obliged to hold myself up by grasping the pulpit with both hands. It became a serious question with me,

whether I could acquit myself to my God for the difficulty I found to be composed, or devout in public prayer. My anticipations of failure in the service of the sanctuary were so oppressive, that for several years in succession, as often as I could, I spent Saturday evening in company with serious families of my congregation, to prevent my thinking of the pulpit services of the following day; and very often in private, I made it a subject of prayer, that if I failed to get through the service, God would be pleased to bless the failure. As any elevation above the floor of the house had a tendency to increase the swimming and dizziness of my head, I had for a considerable time performed the public service in the circular pew that surrounded the pulpit in the church in Arch street before the alteration took place in that edifice in 1809.

7. ACCEPTANCE WITH MY PEOPLE AND WITH OTHERS.

In reading my old diary, from the time at which I fell in the pulpit, to that of my removal to Princeton in 1812, I have seen that I have cause for great gratitude to God that he enabled me to struggle with all the difficulties I met with; and not only to struggle, but that he gave me acceptance with the people, not only of my pastoral charge, but with others also. I was called whenever any plan for the advancement of the interests of religion or of humanity was projected in our city or state, to be a leader in the enterprise. Thus I become one of the committee for the relief of the poor, and wrote the final report of that committee, as well as some other publications during its operation. I also drew up an address to the legislature

of the state, and the corporation of the city, in favour of extending chains across the streets opposite the churches of the city during the hour of public worship on the Sabbath. The law was obtained, and religious assemblies experienced the benefit of it till a few years ago, when it was repealed by a legislature otherwise minded than that which passed it. I also wrote at the request of the Mayor of the city, Matthew Clarkson, an address to the citizens on the subject of restraining their children and apprentices from sports and practices trenching on law and morals. This address was very popular, and the Mayor was lauded for it, but it had very little permanent influence. I also wrote the first address of the Bible Society of Philadelphia, which was also the first public movement in favour of the Bible cause in the United States. But still my public addresses to the people of my charge were made with great difficulty up to the time of my removal to Princeton. My journey to Virginia removed the severity of my rheumatism, and entirely cured my nephritic complaints, and as I have heretofore stated, my melancholy was greatly relieved by periodical bleedings; but I am now of the opinion that this bleeding rather increased than diminished the vertiginous affection of my head.

8. CHARACTER OF MY MELANCHOLY.

Having again mentioned my melancholy, I will say a few words as to the manner in which it affected both my body and my mind. I was, during the various seasons of this afflictive complaint, entirely free from any imagination that my body had become glass, or of

enormous bulk, or a fear to move lest I should fall in pieces. No conceit of this sort ever affected me at all. My complaint may have been attended, and I think it was, by some apprehensions that were delusive, as thinking that slight bodily affections might prove mortal; but after some experience I learned to disregard all these. No, my melancholy consisted in a settled gloom of mind, accompanied with spiritual difficulties of the most distressing character. From these spiritual difficulties I was entirely free in my first turn of melancholy, but ever after, they were grievous indeed on all occasions in which it assailed me. If any reader of my life should desire to know the peculiar character of my spiritual difficulties and temptations, he has only to look into my last catechetical lecture from page 467 to 470 of volume II. of the edition issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, for in writing that part of the lecture, I sat for my own picture in my melancholy turns, and also for the method of cure. I ought also to state that my gloom was very often relieved greatly by the highest exercises of a spiritual or religious kind that I have ever experienced. I was even tempted to impute these very exercises to melancholy itself. But I was made to feel that I could not command them at my own pleasure, and that satanic influence could not account for their occurrence, without making satan hostile to his own interests; for their invariable effects was to humble to the very dust, and to exalt the Redeemer, and to fill my mind with love to God and man, in an eminent degree, and a desire to do all in my power to advance the interests of vital piety.

9. MY PEOPLE REQUEST ME TO TRAVEL FOR MY HEALTH, WHICH I ACCORDINGLY DO.

It appears by my diary that on the 14th of July, 1805, being the Sabbath, I was so much affected by dizziness of my head, that I could not read the psalm; and that on the following Sabbath I was so much inconvenienced by the same complaint, that I had to sit down several times before I could finish my discourse. On the last of these occurrences, my diary states, "that the people of the congregation were much agitated, and that the session met in the evening, and requested me by a vote to intermit preaching for three months, and to travel for my health." It afterwards appears by another entry in my journal, that the corporation or trustees of the church joined their vote to that of the session, in requesting me to intermit the public service of the sanctuary.

I was much affected with this instance of my people's sympathy in my affliction, and wrote an acknowledgment of their kindness; which however, by the advice of friends was not communicated. I went in the following week and took lodgings for myself and my family at Bristol. But I returned to the city toward the close of the week and spoke at a religious meeting, in a school house. I also came from Bristol at the communion season in our church, preached a preparatory sermon, served one of the tables at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and made an address to the people. I also repeatedly preached at Bristol, and in the journey which I shall presently mention, I constantly preached when I was not particularly indisposed in body. This I did not only from a present desire to

be useful, but from the conviction that if I omitted public speaking altogether, it would make me low spirited, and injure me in every way. As my people had requested me to travel for my health, I resolved after attending the annual commencement in Nassau Hall, at which my eldest son was graduated, to make him my companion in the journey I contemplated. Accordingly after attending to the business of the Board of Trustees of the College, I went with my son to Newark, where we were storm-stayed for two or three days. My journal is nearly as particular in stating facts and circumstances as that of which I have given large details in my journey through New England in 1791. The excursion was attended with no occurrence worthy of being embodied in my narration. On recurring to my diary I found the following entry: "The Lord has been very merciful to me in this journey; I have not been confined an hour by sickness, and have met with no accident worth naming. My wife has also improved in her health, and our dear children have all been well. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name, and forget not all his benefits!" But, although, as I have said, I often preached during my journey, and my general health was improved, yet the vertiginous complaint in my head was not removed, nor greatly relieved. I persuaded the corporation of the church to alter both the clerk's desk and the pulpit; and I performed many services in the former, and often with extreme difficulty, till the church in which I ministered was altered, and indeed till I went to Princeton.

10. MY DELEGATION TO THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONNECTICUT.

In the year 1806, I was one of the delegates from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to the General Association of Connecticut. I sought and received this appointment principally with a view to the improvement of the health of my wife and eldest son, both of whom were invalids, and both of whom were my travelling companions. The Association held its meeting at Weathersfield. On our way thither, we spent three or four days at New Haven, and were most hospitably and kindly entertained in the family of Judge Chauncey, who insisted on our whole party leaving the tavern and going to his home. The Sabbath occurred while we were at New Haven, and I heard Dr. Dwight in the morning, and preached for him in the afternoon in the College chapel. But the most remarkable occurrence in this journey was a total eclipse of the sun. It was total at Weathersfield, but not entirely so at New Haven; but it was so dark that the fowls retired to their roosts, and candles were necessary for reading or writing. In my long life I have never seen the sun so obscured as it was on that occasion. I preached once before the Association. My wife and son were somewhat benefitted by this journey. We were absent from Philadelphia exactly a month.

11. MY HOUSE STRUCK BY LIGHTNING.

On the 17th of July, 1800, the house in which I lived was struck by lightning. The account of it stands in my diary as follows: "Reviewed Cyclopaedia,

which I was doing when a thundergust rose, about five o'clock in the afternoon, and about six o'clock a stroke of lightning took my house. Four of the family, of whom I was one, were struck. The shock was dreadful indeed, but blessed be God none of us were greatly or lastingly injured. I was lame in my right foot and leg for some time, but it went off entirely. My second son, Jacob, had a preservation that was next to miraculous. The whole charge of lightning passed down a wall against which he was sitting, till it came within about eighteen inches of his head. He was violently shocked and stupefied for a few minutes, but in less than half an hour he was apparently as well as ever." My son Jacob had a museum in the room opposite to that in which he was struck, and nothing but the wall against which he was sitting, in the servant's lodging-room, separated it from his museum. Among other curiosities, he had obtained a Turkish bastinado—a long piece of iron, flattened at the lower extremity. He had driven a spike into the wall, on which to hang the bastinado; little thinking at the time he did it, it was to preserve his life. The whole stream of electric fluid, following the row of nails in the lath on which the plaster of the walls were laid, came within half a yard of his head, directly over it—where, finding the nail on which the bastinado was suspended, which was a better conductor than the separate nails of the lath, took it of course, and followed the bastinado to its end, and then returned again to the nails of the lath. The atmosphere of the electricity, which filled the room, stunned both my son and the servant for about ten minutes, when they both recovered. The death of my son would have been inevitable, had not the basti-

nado diverted the electric fluid from its course. As to myself, the shock I received was as if a person had struck me a hard blow on the right shoulder and the sole of my right foot at the same time; but I lost my consciousness only for a few seconds; the book I was reading was thrown on the floor, about a yard from the seat on which I was sitting. In the mean time my wife had come to the door of my study, and supposing that I was killed, as I did not move, she fell into the arms of her attendant, who laid her on her bed. Her cries alarmed me, as I was trying my right foot and leg to see if I could walk to look after the family. I wore silk stockings at the time, so that my right foot being covered with a non-conductor, prevented the electric fluid from passing readily into the floor of the room. Surely, I have reason to stand and admire the correcting and protecting hand of God. The correction was a visitation which I would desire to observe and humble myself under. But how ought I to admire the mercy that was mingled with it! The shield of divine providence was as it were spread all around us, and God's language to his lightning was, "strike, but spare: touch, but kill not: hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther."

By this dispensation let me be taught: (1.) To be living every moment as I would wish to be found when summoned into eternity. What if I had been struck and killed in the commission of sin! (2.) My absolute dependence on God for life, for its continuance and its comforts. I was anticipating no harm to myself or my family, (although in the beginning of the gust I had some fear, knowing that the house was without a light-

ning-rod, and lifted my thoughts to God to preserve me and mine,) when in a moment without the least warning we were all in the jaws of death. So we may be at any moment, even when we think ourselves the most safe. (3.) What a perfect protection we may have in God! If he will save, nothing can hurt or destroy. We were actually as safe (as to life) when the deadly fluid was streaming around us, as if it had descended at a thousand miles distance; this merely because God had ordered it not to take our lives. All second causes are undoubtedly under his control, and cannot effect any thing beyond or besides what he orders. O, to be able to trust and confide in God on good grounds in all times of danger, however threatening! (4.) How should I be engaged to pray and labour that my children and family may be partakers of God's grace. He may take away any or all of them in a moment, although they may be in health and apparent safety; and with life, the day of grace is finally ended. How should I have felt if the lightning had actually killed my son, who was spared almost by miracle? The remainder of the day and evening were spent in receiving our friends, who came to inquire after, and to sympathize with us. On the spot where I was struck in my study, I kneeled down in secret, soon after the family was composed, and endeavoured to give thanks to God for his preserving mercy, and to pray that my life may be unreservedly devoted to his service. In family prayer also, I besought God that we might as a family improve this dispensation of his providence. On the following Sabbath, I preached twice on the words, Matt. xxv. 13, "Watch, therefore, for ye know

neither the day nor the hour when the Son of man cometh," and endeavoured to improve in public the occurrence in my family in the past week, and was favoured with some freedom in speaking.

12. REMOVAL TO GERMANTOWN, THE DEATH OF MY WIFE, AND
THE INCREASE OF MY MELANCHOLY.

Soon after the occurrence above recorded, I removed with my family to Germantown, that my wife and myself, being both in a feeble state, might escape the intense heat of the city. While my residence was there, I preached several times to the people of the town, and always came to the city to preach to my own charge on the Lord's day, and occasionally on other days to attend to my ministerial duties. We returned to the city on the 16th of September, where my wife languished under the dropsy of the chest until the 15th of January 1807, when she expired. From the middle of December 1806, to the 14th of February 1807, I did not keep a regular diary. I was so much occupied in attending to my sick wife and my ministerial duties (for I did not neglect the latter, although my own health was very imperfect) that I had not time to attend to my journal. I had left two or three pages blank, with expectation of filling them at my leisure; but the subject was mournful and they still remain blank. If my health was imperfect before the death of my wife, it became still more so after her decease. My melancholy increased, but I did not neglect my pastoral duties either private or public. But I performed them with immense difficulty. I often thought, and sometimes said, that it would never

be known till the secrets of all hearts were revealed, with what struggling, both of mind and body, I went to the pulpit. Yet it was during this period that my preaching was more blest to my people, not only in the conversion of sinners, but in edification of the pious, than in any equal period of my ministerial life, and this encouraged me to persevere. In one entry of my diary about this time I find the following remark: that, although I perform my various duties in opposition to many difficulties, yet that I am as apparently as useful as if I were in perfect health.

13. MY JOURNEY TO WESTERN PART OF PENNSYLVANIA.

In the latter part of the summer, after having visited my mother and spent a few days at Schooley's Mountain, I took a journey to the Western part of Pennsylvania, in company with my second son and two other members of my congregation. We visited in succession the Yellow Springs, at the distance of twenty-five miles from the city, and after staying there a short time proceeded to the Springs of Yorktown, and finally to those of Bedford; at which place we spent a longer time than at the others. At Bedford, in compliance with the request of the influential gentlemen of the town, I preached in the Court House, there being then no church in the town. The Methodists were holding a public meeting at the same time, and after I had delivered my sermon, the leading elder of the Methodists told the people not to depart, as he was going to preach likewise. He did so, and broached the doctrine of the perfection of saints in the present life. He maintained, that in many instances it was true that

Christians were actually as perfect before they died as the glorified spirits in heaven. I had said nothing in my sermon to provoke him to this; but as he knew I held opinions opposite to those of his discourse, his attack was aimed at me, and through me, at the denomination to which I belonged. In the former part of his address, I was disposed to reply to him, but he showed such zeal in regard to the point he discussed, that I perceived that if I attempted to reply, it would produce a scene of confusion altogether improper for the Sabbath. In consequence of this I made no reply, and my silence was approved by my travelling friends, who told me that I had relieved their apprehensions that I would give him an opportunity to produce a confusion which they deprecated. Hitherto I had entertained the opinion that the perfectability of the Methodists was only a modification of the orthodox faith, that no sanctified man can indulge habitually in known sin. But this preacher convinced me that in so thinking I was in error. We returned from our Western tour by a very different route from the one we took in going to Bedford. I did not much improve my general health by this excursion; and after some preaching on the Sabbath after my return, I was taken very ill with the influenza, which at that time was epidemic.

Having again mentioned this disease, I think proper to say, that I well remember the time in which it was altogether unknown in this country. The first time that I ever heard of it, was while I was a tutor in the College at Princeton, in the year 1784 or 1785. In conversation with a Scotch gentleman, then recently

arrived from Europe, he cursorily mentioned the prevalence of the influenza in Britain. As the disease was one that I then had never heard of, I requested him to describe it, which he accordingly did. It was, I think, in the spring of the year 1789 that it first appeared in this country. At that time I had it very severely, and it left me subject to chronic rheumatism, to which I was subject for twelve years, till it was in a great measure relieved by bathing in the Warm Spring, as stated in my account of my Virginia journey. This attack of the influenza weakened me very much, but it laid me by for only a single Sabbath. But my exertions to keep the pulpit and perform other pastoral duties were even more painful for a year thereafter than before I took my journey.

14. MY RESIDENCE AT BRISTOL AND CONSEQUENT LONG AND DANGEROUS ILLNESS.

The summer following, I hired a house at Bristol, to which I removed with my housekeeper and children. My travelling companions to Bedford the preceding year had invited me to travel again with them. But I thought that riding to the city and returning to Bristol, together with country air and exercise, would not only be likely to improve my health better than a journey, but would enable me to serve my people to a considerable extent, which I was very desirous to do. I exposed myself indiscreetly to the summer sun and night air, in consequence of which I was seized with an ardent fever, which reduced me to a skeleton, and rendered me unable to preach for four months. A communion season occurred in my pastoral charge a little

before I was taken sick, and in one of the preparatory services I preached a discourse on the first four verses of the xxiii. Psalm. On this Psalm my mind dwelt with great delight during the whole time that my fever lasted; for I was mercifully preserved from the delirium till its termination. But I think it best to give an account of this illness in the very words of my diary, after I was able to write. I resumed my diary December 1, 1808, but I did not preach till January 1st, 1809, although I attended church several times previously. The extract of my diary is as follows: "About the 24th of August I was taken ill with an ardent fever; and my son Jacob was likewise taken ill at the same time. The fever continued with both of us for fourteen days without a full intermission, although there were several remissions. After it broke, we had a slow convalescence. For a number of weeks I could neither read nor write. While the fever lasted, I did not expect to die, but thought I should recover, and hoped that my fever might prove salutary, and carry off my old complaints. After the fever left me, my debility was very great, and I thought once or twice that I should die, and gave some orders to my family in consequence of it. I think I may say that I was not afraid of the consequences of death. I said to myself, "all that I have to ask for, is an easy passage." Thus far my diary. My life, I have always thought, was spared in answer to the prayers of my people. I had been organizing a female prayer meeting. The members of this association were very earnest in their prayers for my recovery, and several of them watched with me in my sickness.

15. FIRST BIBLE SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES.

Before I was completely recovered, the first Bible Society in the United States was set on foot by my colleague Dr. Janeway, Robert Ralston, Esq. and Dr. Benjamin Rush. As soon as I was able, I cordially united with them in this enterprise; and I rejoiced that the first exertion of my renovated powers was the writing and publication of an address to the public, stating the nature of our association, and inviting other popular places to follow our example. My address was very properly signed by Bishop White, as president of our Bible Society, but it was prepared entirely by myself, with only such suggestions before its publication as were made by the first reading of it to the society. This address is largely quoted by the original Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the history which he wrote and published a little before his death. I think that I may say that I have been much devoted to the Bible cause. In concert with my colleague and Mr. Ralston, we solicited the citizens of Philadelphia, and were successful in obtaining the funds for the purchase of Bibles in the infancy of the institution, by going from house to house of those citizens whom we thought likely to favour our object. I was also among the most active of our members in personally distributing copies of the Bible to the destitute. In promoting the Bible cause in other places I was also active. I have commonly made addresses at our annual public meetings, even during the ten years I was absent in Princeton. Two of the annual reports of the Board to the public have been written by myself. I also wrote an address to the public in favour of the

Society. On the death of Bishop White, I had the honour by a vote of the Society to be elected in his place as their president.

16. MY CONNEXION WITH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S MAGAZINE.

I have heretofore stated that I was the chairman of the Standing Committee of Missions for more than ten years before I removed to Princeton. I am now to state, that the General Assembly in the year 1804 passed the following resolution, viz:—"Resolved, that it be recommended to the Standing Committee of Missions to publish a periodical magazine, in order to communicate to the people such religious information as may be interesting and useful; to take early measures for obtaining subscriptions for said magazine, and pay the profits into the funds of the Assembly." As I was the chairman of the committee to which this resolution was addressed, it was natural that the other members of the committee should look to me to take a leading part in carrying out the resolution of the Assembly. The magazine bore the title of "The General Assembly's Missionary Magazine, or Evangelical Intelligencer." Of this work I wrote the prospectus, which was signed by all the members of the committee. The names of the committee were as follows:—Samuel Blair, Ashbel Green, Philip Milledoler, Jacob J. Janeway, Elias Boudinot, Ebenezer Hazard, and Robert Smith. The contributions to the first two volumes of the Magazine were furnished by the several members of the committee; with the aid of correspondents. But when the third volume was commenced, which was denominated a "New Series," I

became sole editor, and was liberally rewarded by the printer, William Farrand. The other members of the committee still furnished a number of articles, but the labouring and the responsibilities were with me. The Magazine had a considerable circulation, and contained a number of interesting articles, and a detail of missionary operations; among others, an account of Mr. William Tennent's suspended animation, and the state of his mind during its continuance. That article may be considered as the joint production of Dr. Boudinot and myself. Dr. Boudinot was an executor of Mr. Tennent's will; he first wrote the article, on the condition that I would promise to modify it and to correct other things in the memoir. I gave the promise and fulfilled it. The third volume contains an obituary notice of my first wife. I choose to say, that this article I never saw till I read it in the Magazine. I believe it was written by Dr. Janeway.

17. MY REVIEW OF CYCLOPEDIAS.

As my diary contains, in connexion with the last article, the frequent mention of a Cyclopaedia, this may be as proper a place as any other to give an account of my connexion with that work. When the printer of the American edition of Reese's Cyclopaedia engaged in that extended and expensive undertaking, he engaged Bishop White and myself to review the theological and biographical articles. At first I erased what I thought exceptionable in the articles reviewed by me. Of this, the Unitarians of Boston loudly complained, and the printer, Mr. Samuel Bradford, requested the Bishop and myself to answer what we thought objectionable.

Accordingly, in the article "Angel," in the third half volume, I wrote largely in reply to the heresy it contained; and advertised the public in what manner the American reviewers would treat what they should think erroneous in religion and biography. But the reviewers in Britain scourged the editor of the original publication so severely, that in the latter part of his work he gave us very little trouble.

Of the Edinburgh Encyclopedia I also became a reviewer. The compensation which I received was a set of both these extensive works.

18. MY SECOND MARRIAGE.

On the 16th of October, 1809, I was married to Christiana Anderson, the eldest child of Col. Alexander Anderson. The mending of a broken family is commonly a delicate affair, especially for a minister of the gospel. But on this occasion, I had the happiness to find that my three sons approved of the choice I had made; and that not an individual of my congregation, so far as known to me, was dissatisfied with it.

19. THE DEATH OF MY MOTHER.

In the month of August, 1810, my pious and excellent mother exchanged earth for heaven in the eighty-fourth year of her age. On parting from her the last time I ever saw her, she said with great tenderness, "I love you, but you are not my God." My wife also lost her own mother in the same month of August.

20. MY CATECHETICAL LECTURES.

About the middle of November, 1810, I began my catechetical lectures, and continued them to the close

of the following month of March, 1811. They were continued in the following year, 1812. They were interrupted by my going to Princeton in the autumn of the last-mentioned year; for my purpose, from the first, was to deliver them only in the colder portions of the year, as being most favourable to a general attendance. In the preface to these lectures, their character and purpose are fully explained; so that in writing my life I have only to say, that I consider the publication of these lectures as exhibiting my views of the Calvinistic doctrines, and as one of the most important services that I have ever rendered to the Church of Christ. The lectures of the second volume were never delivered orally; but the same style of address was continued in both volumes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CLERICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

I FIND in my diary under the date of January 23d, 1792, the following article: "In the evening went to Robert Aitkins, and with Mr. Annan, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Hazard, concerted a plan for preventing the spread of infidel principles, through the medium of the newspapers." The Mr. Annan mentioned above, was the minister of the Scotch Seceding Church in Philadelphia, and Robert Aitkins was one of his elders: Mr. Smith was the Rev. John Smith, afterwards Dr. Smith: Mr. Hazard was Ebenezer Hazard, one of my elders. Thomas Jefferson was then Secretary of State, and when congress was located in Philadelphia, he patronized a newspaper in which infidel publications occasionally appeared. They did not at the time, so far as my recollection serves me, appear in any other newspaper. I think that none of the members of this association wrote for the press, except Dr. Smith and myself, but all were privy to our publications, and gave us all the assistance in their power. I recollect to have written a piece in reply to an atheistical publication on the eternity of the visible universe. Dr. Smith wrote nothing that I recollect, till a certain Mr. Palmer, an Universalist and Socinian preacher, made a considerable stir in the city. Dr. Smith then issued a publication in a newspaper, to which he affixed the signature of A. B.

To this Palmer replied in the same paper, and intimated, or rather broadly asserted that A. B. and all his other opposers were influenced by the odious spirit of persecution. To this I replied in a letter of irony, addressed to "The preacher of liberal sentiments, and containing a liberal man's creed or confession of faith." This letter formed a pamphlet of considerable size, and put an end to the controversy, and Palmer soon after left the city. Dr. Nesbit and Dr. Witherspoon were pleased to express their approbation of my publication, addressed to the preacher of liberal sentiments. It was the only piece of irony and ridicule that I ever made public, except a short article in a newspaper. Our society, if I recollect, continued its existence till congress removed from Philadelphia to Washington; and it had, at least, some influence in checking infidel and atheistical publications.

On the 18th of November, 1800, as appears by my diary, Mr. Linn, Dr. Janeway, and myself, held a meeting at my house, to form "a society for our improvement as clergymen." All the other Presbyterian clergymen of Philadelphia, viz. Dr. Ewing, Mr. Milledoler and Mr. Potts, soon after joined this society. A written constitution was formed, which remains in my hands to the present time. The substance of it was as follows: We were to meet weekly at each other's houses in rotation. Ecclesiastical history or systematic theology was to be the first object of attention. Then every member, in rotation, was to read a sermon of his own composition, which was made the subject of remark by the members present; each one being asked by the presiding officer for his observations, which were

always to be made in a friendly manner. The member at whose house the society convened, was always to preside and put the questions on ecclesiastical history or theology. The secretary's office was held by the members in rotation, and continued but a week before it changed hands. After the foregoing exercises were performed, a free conversation took place on various topics of ministerial duty, which any member was at liberty to suggest or propose; social, friendly conversation often filled up the last hour of our meetings. The association lasted about three years, and in that time we recited the whole of Mosheim's History, and the most of Witsius on the Covenants, with some degree of accuracy, besides the improvement which we made in sermonizing. Dr. Ewing, at whose house we frequently met, took no part in any thing but conversation. He died about the middle of November, 1802.

2. ATTENDANCE ON CHURCH JUDICATURES.

A punctual attendance on all the judicatures of the Church I have ever considered as a very important duty, as much so as preaching to the people of my pastoral charge; and I have not only been careful to attend but have devoted myself to the business transacted in the various judicatories of our Church. The too common practice of reading a book, or a newspaper, while discussions are taking place in the courts of the Church, I have avoided as unseemly and improper. If there has been any exception to this in my practice, which I do not recollect, it must have been a very rare occurrence. Many of the transactions, and some of the most important kind, in Presbyteries, Synods, and

General Assemblies, have originated with myself. I shall mention a few.

3. MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

At a meeting of the Foreign Missionary Board of our Church at Baltimore, in November, 1837, I was requested by that Board to write a compendious view of Foreign Missions in the Presbyterian Church. When I came to carry this request into execution, I found that the domestic and foreign missions in our Church had been mingled together, and I therefore gave a summary of both. A short extract from this publication will give a view of my opinion in regard to the manner in which missions ought to be conducted, which I have never changed. The extract is as follows: "In 1796, the New York Missionary Society was organized, consisting principally of members of the Presbyterian Church. It owed its origin to the missionary zeal excited by the accounts then recently received in this country of the institution, animated exertions, and flattering prospects of the London Missionary Society. The present writer can state, from a distinct recollection of his feelings and language at the period now referred to, that although he highly approved the zeal of the founders of this Society, and was perfectly willing that they should prosecute their own views of duty, yet for himself, he saw no need of any new organization for missionary operations in the Presbyterian Church. He thought the zeal now awakened should be cherished and carried into the General Assembly of our Church; that in this body we had already an organization, than which none

could be devised better adapted to the prosecution of foreign as well as domestic missions ; in a word, it was his opinion that every member of the Presbyterian Church should use his influence and all his means for evangelizing the heathen, through the agency of the supreme judicatory of the Church."

It has ever appeared to me, that the several judicatories of the Presbyterian Church are as well adapted to missionary operations, as if they had been formed for no other purpose ; and in all the bodies or associations mentioned in my compendious view, so far as the church to which I belong has been concerned, I have, through the whole of my ministerial life, taken an active part. The Standing Committee of the General Assembly was first appointed in the year 1802 ; of this committee I was the chairman for ten years and a half, till I went to Princeton in the fall of 1812 ; and as we had neither a secretary nor an executive committee, the labouring oar was in my hands. During the whole period, every publication, except the annual report to the Assembly, was from my pen. After my return to Philadelphia in the autumn of 1822, I found the Board of Missions of our Church reduced in its funds exceedingly, by the rival exertions of other missionary societies. In 1826, the Home Missionary Society of New York was established, and this tended still more to the diminution of the funds of our Board ; so that it seemed to be on the point of extinction in every thing but in name. With but one individual to encourage me, my former colleague Dr. Janeway, I resolved to make a strenuous effort to revive missionary operations in the Presbyterian Church. I was dehorted from this,

by being told by a timid friend that our rivals would write us down. Still I went forward, and a public meeting was called. This proved to be an abortion. So few attended that I did not make the speech that I had proposed to deliver. But some pains were taken to call a second meeting, and though it was not very numerously attended, I made my speech, and shortly after set about preparing an overture for the next General Assembly to organize a Board of Missions on a new plan. The overture was printed, with the signatures of three clergymen and two laymen; and a copy of it was laid on the tables of the Assembly for each of the members of that body. It produced a wonderful commotion, the details of which I will not narrate. The result was, that the plan I proposed was not adopted; but in place of it, something much better was sanctioned. The old Board was re-organized, with a distinct specification of powers to appoint an executive committee, to choose a corresponding secretary, and to prosecute missions both domestic and foreign, to pay the missionaries, and with no other restriction than the making of an annual report to the General Assembly.

I was elected both as president of the Board and the chairman of the Executive Committee. The meetings of the committee were held for a considerable time in my study, but subsequently a room was hired for our meeting; and ultimately a house was rented for the accommodation of our Board, and for the Education Board. For five years I remained the chairman of the executive committee which met weekly; but from May 1833, that office has been held by the Rev. Dr.

John McDowell. The presidentship of the Board, which meets monthly, has been continued to me by the annual vote of my brethren till the present time. In this new organization, as in the standing committee of missions, referred to above, the labour of preparing publications for the press, as well as the general superintendence of the missionary concerns, was assumed by myself. It was otherwise after a permanent corresponding secretary was elected and came into office.

As to foreign missions, although our Board was authorized to establish them, and in two instances we attempted it, we had neither the funds nor the men by which we could operate in the foreign field; but our operations in domestic missions have from the first gone forward in a constant increase of the most cheering and beneficial kind; so that in the present year (1844), our domestic missionaries have been more than three hundred.

Adhering steadfastly to the opinion that our Church was admirably adapted, from its constitutional organization, both for foreign and domestic missions, and never giving up the hope that at some future day she would awake to her duty in regard to both, I thought that in the mean time I would join in the operations of the American Board of Foreign Missions. This I accordingly did, and was a corporate member of that Board almost from its origin till about the time that a similar Board was established in our Church.

Among the earliest missionaries of the American Board were Messrs. Hill and Newell. These young men, to qualify themselves more fully for their missionary work, came to Philadelphia to acquire a smat-

tering of medical and surgical knowledge. They were in a sort consigned to my care, and I gave them every attention and assistance in my power, and they preached for me occasionally. In several other instances I had the opportunity of helping forward the early missionaries of that Board to their destined fields, and always was glad of the opportunity of rendering them any aid. When Mr. Stewart and his wife went to the Sandwich Islands, a coloured girl by the name of Betsey Stockton, (who had been given as a slave to my first wife, and with her concurrence was freed by myself,) and who at the time was on wages in my family at Princeton, was invited to go in the character of a missionary, and as an assistant to Mrs. Stewart in the concerns of the family. Betsey had become hopefully pious, and by the instruction received in my family, principally from my son James, had made laudable improvements in knowledge. She had saved her wages, by which, with some small assistance from myself, she was able to prepare her outfit for the mission. Some of her letters to me after her arrival at the island (where she became a teacher of a school) were so well written, that, with very few corrections, I inserted them in the *Christian Advocate*, of which I was then the editor, and they were greatly admired. When, in consequence of the failure of Mrs. Stewart's health, the whole family returned to this country, after visiting their friends, they spent about ten days in my family, and I used all my influence in aid of Mr. Stewart's endeavours in the city and adjacent country to collect funds for the American Board. In like manner, on Mr. Loomis' return from the same islands, with one of the natives, my

house became his home, till he could make arrangements to go to the eastward. When the annual meeting of that Board was held in Philadelphia, the family of my friend Dr. Woods resided with me; and I had then afforded me the only opportunity of attending its meetings that I ever was able to improve. At the close of that meeting, I made a speech in favour of patronizing the Board, which was highly applauded by the same public print in which I had previously been represented as a superannuated dotard. This was in the year 1828. In a word, while I was a member of that corporation, I did all in my power to promote its missionary operations; and I still read with unfeigned pleasure in the *Missionary Herald* the accounts of its success, and sympathize in its present want of funds to sustain and extend its missions. I think this cause lies near my heart; it is the subject of my daily prayers: and by whatever name a mission is called, if its preachers teach truth enough to save immortal souls they are included in my prayers, and I sincerely rejoice when they are successful.

Soon after the establishment of a foreign missionary society by the Synod of Pittsburgh, I was elected a member of that institution, and promoted its operations to the best of my abilities. And when, in the year 1835, its transfer to the General Assembly of our Church was deemed expedient, I was active and had some efficiency in bringing about the adoption of that measure. I advocated it warmly in the convention of the friends of the "Act and Testimony," which met at Pittsburgh, and of which I was president; and although I was not a member of the General Assembly of that

year, yet as it met, as well as our convention, in Pittsburgh, I had an opportunity to use my influence with its members in favour of the proposed transfer. But till towards the close of that meeting, I saw no prospect of success, and I was greatly discouraged. But resolving to make one effort more, and having observed that the Rev. Dr. Hoge had gained great influence in the house, I addressed myself to him, and was highly gratified by finding him willing and ready to prepare and advocate the measure. He did so, and was successful. The transfer was made and solemnly ratified, and although the whole transaction was set aside by the General Assembly of the following year, (1836,) yet it was this very thing that roused the staunch friends of orthodoxy in our Church, and gave us the decided majority in the Assembly of 1837, by which the Church was revolutionized and delivered from the distraction which for several years had destroyed its peace, as well as from the prevalence of errors in doctrine which threatened either its extinction or the entire change of its character. This at least was my sincere opinion; and I went to the General Assembly of that year, as I knew many of my brethren also did, determined, if the party we opposed should have the majority, that we would come out from them with the loss of all our funds, and every other loss which would attend such a measure.

The doings of the General Assembly of 1837, as far as they relate to missions, are set forth in detail in my "Historical View of Missions in the Presbyterian Church;" so that I had need only to extract the concluding part of what I have already written and printed.

The extract is as follows: "Thus, at length, were the wishes and prayers answered of those who had long and earnestly desired to see a Board of Foreign Missions, under an ecclesiastical appointment and responsibility, established in the Presbyterian Church of the United States, acting in its distinctive character." The Board, agreeably to the direction of the Assembly, held its first meeting in the first Presbyterian church of Baltimore on the 31st of October, 1837, when its complete organization was harmoniously effected, and a resolution was passed "that the principal seat of its operations be in the city of New York."

4. CONTROVERSIES OF THE CHURCH.

In all the controversies which have taken place between what have been denominated the Old School and the New School Presbyterians, I have taken a decided and leading part in favour of the former, and against the latter, both in the General Assembly, and as the editor of the *Christian Advocate*. I think that I may safely say that I hate controversy in religion, since I never dipped into it in writing till I had been for more than forty years an ordained minister of the gospel. But when some of the most important doctrines of evangelical truth were assailed in the church to which I belonged, and I was the editor of a periodical publication whose very title, "*The Christian Advocate*," seemed to pledge me to a defence, I felt that it would be criminal in me to forbear any longer. I therefore became a controvertist in writing; for previously I had, in the judicatories of the church, endeavoured to advocate the orthodox faith, in opposition to those whom I

thought wished to corrupt it. My nature and my deliberate principles dispose me, when I do take a part in litigated subjects, to do it unequivocally, avoiding violence on the one hand, and concealment and ambiguity on the other. All my written opinions in religious controversy are before the world in the *Christian Advocate*, and there I leave them. I had no hesitation in voting in the General Assemblies of 1837 and 1838 for all the measures that were adopted, with a view to purify the Church to which I belonged from the corrupt leaven (as I believed it to be) which had long defiled it, and which threatened its entire perversion. I conscientiously thought, that the supreme judicatory of our Church not only had a constitutional right, but was sacredly bound to do what they *did*. And I was the more persuaded of this, because I had a strong conviction that if our opponents had had the majority in the Assembly of 1837, they would either have turned out at once, our theological professors at Princeton, or taken such measures as would have insured their resignation, and would have laid their hands on the funds of the Church; nor did I believe till convinced by the fact, that they would institute a legal prosecution to wrest them from us. Before Judge Rogers charged the jury in favour of the New School, there were palpable indications that such would be the fact; and as my name was mentioned in the prosecution, I made it a point to attend the whole sittings of the court; both when the decree, in the first instance, was adverse to our interests, and in the second, when it was reversed in our favour. Nor had I any painful anxiety, from first to last, as to the final issue of the

whole concern. My great solicitude had been for the spiritual interests of the Church. They had been rendered secure by the action of the General Assembly, with which no civil court could interfere; and as to funds, I was convinced that if we were deprived of them by an unjust decree of a civil court, the true Presbyterians of our Church would, by an extraordinary effort, replace and even increase them. For three successive years it was the pleasure of the Presbytery of Philadelphia to make me a member of the General Assembly; for I belonged to that body in the year 1839, as well as in the two preceding years; so that I was a party to the whole conflict between the Old and New School sections of the Church, a party in both the ecclesiastical and civil courts, before which the whole concern was placed for judicial decision. In the last Assembly, that of 1839, there were two important transactions in which I took a leading part; namely, the published Historical Narrative of our Church from its formation till the period of its jubilee, which was celebrated by the Assembly of that year. This narrative, by the appointment of the Assembly, was written by me, as was also a reply to the letter of the Synod of the Canadas, which was directed to the Assembly of 1839. But the infirmities attendant on my advanced age, as well as the considerations that the peace of the Church was restored, and that I had had a full share of the honour and the labour of representing my Presbytery in the supreme judicatory of our Church, determined me to decline being a candidate for a seat in our General Assembly to the end of life. This determination I accordingly announced to the

Presbytery, at their first meeting after the Assembly of 1839.

5. THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT PRINCETON.

In the whole action of the General Assembly in the establishment of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, I took an active and prominent part. As early as the year 1799, Dr. Griffin, with whom I was then intimate, endeavoured by letter to persuade me to take part with those who about that time were engaged in establishing the Theological Seminary at Andover, and to use my influence in favour of sending candidates for the gospel ministry in the Presbyterian Church, to that institution for their theological education. This I refused, as calculated to lessen the attachment of our candidates to the Presbyterian Church, and as derogatory to our denomination, which I thought ought to have, and would ultimately, I hoped, have a Seminary of its own. In view of the great deficiency of ministers to supply the rapidly increasing population of our country, our most enlightened clergy were filled with anxiety in contemplating the prospect before them. Presbyterians took some measures to look out for pious youth, and to educate them for the gospel ministry. To promote this good work, as early as the year 1805 I sent into the General Assembly, at a time when I was not a member of that body, an overture addressed to the Committee of Overtures, which was received with so much favour as to be published in the printed minutes of the year with my name attached to it, and which originated a system of measures in the General Assembly which were continued for several successive years. Still nothing was

said about a theological seminary till some time afterwards, when Dr. Alexander, after he had been Moderator of the General Assembly in 1807, mentioned it in the opening sermon of the following year. Encouraged by this, I used all my influence in favour of the measure; and in 1809, the Presbytery of Philadelphia, to which I belonged, sent into the General Assembly of that year an overture distinctly proposing the establishment of a theological school. The committee to which the overture was referred, reported to the Assembly three plans, namely: 1. "One great school, in some convenient place near the centre of the Boards of our Church. 2. To establish two such schools in such places as may best accommodate the northern and southern divisions of the Church. 3. To establish such a school within the bounds of each of the Synods. After stating the advantages and disadvantages of each of these modes, the committee recommended and the Assembly resolved that the above plans be submitted to all the Presbyteries within the bounds of the General Assembly, for their consideration, and that they be careful to send up to the next Assembly at their sessions in May, 1810, their opinions on the subject." When the votes of the Presbyteries came to be examined by a committee appointed for the purpose in 1810, it appeared that a majority of the Presbyteries under the care of the Assembly had expressed a decided opinion in favour of the establishment of a theological school; and that although there was an equal number of Presbyteries in favour of the first and third plans above mentioned, yet there were those who had voted in favour of the third plan, who had done so from an entire mis-

conception of the nature and intention of the first plan, which would be completely obviated when the details of that plan should be made known. The conclusion therefore was "that there was a greater amount of presbyterial suffrage in favour of a single school than of any other plan." Several resolutions were passed by the General Assembly (which I shall not transcribe) for the immediate establishment of the contemplated institution; and a committee was appointed, of which I was the chairman, to draught a plan, as the constitution of a theological seminary. The draughting of a plan fell of course upon me as the chairman of the committee. In hope of getting aid from my fellow members, I requested the committee to meet in New York, at the house of Dr. Miller. The committee consisted of seven members, and if I remember right, but four of them met. We however spent the afternoon in talking about the plan of the contemplated seminary. But when I sat seriously down to make a draught of the plan, I found that there was but one idea suggested by my brethren, that I could introduce into it. Nor had I any other guide than the nature of the subject; and if I ever taxed my faculties to their best effort, it was on this occasion. Two of the articles of the plan, when it was reported to the Assembly, were laid over to be considered in the following year, and to this day they have not been taken up—these articles related to the library and a theological academy.

When I had completed a draught of the plan for the construction of the Seminary, I summoned the committee to meet at Princeton, on the day of commencement, 1810. There was a general, but not a full

attendance at that time ; and I shall never forget with what diffidence I submitted my draught to my brethren, not only being willing, but wishing that they would suggest alterations and improvements, and I was surprised when they suggested none of any importance. We knew that it was *cum periculo* that our plan should be published before it was reported to the Assembly. But we determined to do it, and to have copies enough printed to lay one on the table of every member of the Assembly of the following year, 1811. We were not blamed for this act by any one; on the contrary, the members of the Assembly appeared to be gratified when they found that each was served with a copy. This plan has received a considerable number of modifications by the General Assemblies which have convened during the three and thirty years which have elapsed since its first adoption; and yet no important feature of the plan has been changed, and more than three fourths of the language remains as it was in the original composition. The first meeting of the Directors, which was on the 30th of June, 1812, was opened with a sermon by myself. At that meeting I was chosen President of the Board, which office I have been honoured with ever since. On the 26th of September, 1815, I laid the corner stone of the Seminary, which was done with appropriate solemnities; and till I left Princeton in the autumn of 1822, all the money to pay the salaries of the Professors, and to erect the edifice of the Seminary passed through my hands. I was also active in obtaining the charter for the Trustees of the Seminary, which has relieved the Directors from a considerable part of the business to

which they were previously obliged to attend. Of the Board of Trustees I have always been a member. I consider the agency I have had in providing ministers of the gospel for the Church, and in securing the means for their adequate instruction, and for an attention to their personal piety, as the most important service that I have ever rendered to the Church of Christ. With much imperfection, but yet with general fidelity, I have endeavoured to preach the gospel, and in one year of my pastoral life, in connexion with Dr. Janeway, fifty members were added to the communion of our church; nor can I ever be sufficiently thankful to God, for the signal revival of religion which took place in Nassau Hall while I was its president. Still however, there are many Presbyterian ministers whose pastoral labours have been far more extensively blest than mine, so far as additions to their churches are concerned. Whitefield said to Dr. Witherspoon, to induce him to come to this country, with a view to educate ministers of the gospel—"Every gownsman is a legion." Every faithful ambassador of Christ may with emphatic propriety be denominated *a legion*; and therefore, I have reason to bless God that he has used my feeble instrumentality in calling into the gospel vineyard no inconsiderable number of faithful labourers. Let all the praise be to God alone.

I have not mentioned, and perhaps I ought not to mention, that in addition to the small lot of two acres given by Richard Stockton, Esq., as a site for the edifice of the Seminary, I purchased of him two acres more for which I paid him four hundred dollars, and gave them to the institution; and that I paid four

hundred dollars for the house now occupied by the professor of didactic and polemic theology. My pecuniary outlays for the Seminary have not fallen much short of two thousand dollars in the aggregate. I will only add, that no other member of the Board of Directors has so often as myself addressed the students of the Seminary at their dispersion at the close of a year.

6. EFFORTS TO PREVENT SABBATH DESECRATION.

About seven or eight years ago the Synod of Philadelphia were engaged in taking measures to arrest, or at least to diminish the tide of Sabbath desecration. A committee was appointed, of which I was the chairman, to address the public on this important subject. The letter or address was written by myself, and when reported to the Synod, a vote was passed that it should be printed to the number of several thousands, and be widely distributed. This was accordingly done, with how much or how little effect, I am unable to determine.

I find it impracticable to write my life in exact chronological order. I give the dates of the facts or occurrences which I narrate; but when a subject is started, such for example as the last that I have noticed, it must be pursued to its termination.

CHAPTER XIX.

MY ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.

On the 14th of August, 1812, I was unanimously elected by the Trustees of the College of New Jersey as President of the institution of which they were the guardians. Strange as it may appear, it is notwithstanding a fact, that eighteen hours before this occurrence, I was not aware that such an event was in the contemplation of any one. My own mind was most decidedly opposed to it. The facts of the case were the following. At the first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, I had preached a sermon in which I laid down the doctrine that every minister of the gospel was a *devoted man*; bound by the tenor of his vocation to serve God in any place and in any manner to which divine providence should call him. My special reference in this statement was to Dr. Alexander, who at that time had not explicitly consented to assume the station which he has ever since most acceptably occupied. The Board of Trustees of the College had met at Princeton on the day before my election, and had chosen a Vice-president of the institution, and had agreed to proceed to the election of a President on the following morning. Dr. Miller, without my knowledge or suspicion, had gone to every individual of the Board and persuaded them to

give me a unanimous vote, and to throw the responsibility of rejecting it on myself. He himself was the man that I had determined to nominate as the President of the College. Col. Ogden, who sat next to me in the Board of Trustees, said to me while we were preparing our votes for the Vice-president, "Suppose we should give you a unanimous vote for this office, as a stepping-stone to the one which we are to vote for in the morning." I immediately replied, "In that event, I would instantly and absolutely refuse both." He replied, "We shall do what we think right and you will do the same." After the Board of Trustees adjourned I spoke to Richard Stockton, and he told me that "my friend Miller could tell me all about it." I immediately went to Dr. Miller's quarters, and "he did tell me all about it." He informed me explicitly, that the Board would give me a unanimous vote for the Presidency of the College on the coming day, and throw on me the responsibility of refusing the office. I went to my lodgings much agitated. My wife was with me, and as soon as we had retired for the night, I told her what had taken place, and added that my mind was made up to refuse the appointment at once. She cautioned me against precipitancy, and said that she thought that I ought to hold it under consideration. On my bed I made a new consecration of myself, and resolved that I would abide by the doctrine of my sermon to which I have referred, and then I was free from agitation and slept comfortable till morning. I rose early and wrote a letter to the Trustees, of which I have a copy, telling them that my appointment to the Presidency of the College was altogether unexpected, and

that the indispensable condition of my holding it under consideration was, that my doing so should not be considered as any intimation that I would finally accept the appointment, otherwise they had my answer at once in the negative. This letter I gave to Dr. Miller, and he read it to the Board of Trustees in my presence. After this letter was read, I made a short address to the Board, thanking them for the confidence reposed in me, and then said that I should retire. The Board opposed this, and gave me a unanimous vote in my presence.

On my return to the city, I was surprised that the influential part of my congregation, though not willing to part with me, were prepared to acquiesce in my leaving them. I heard of but one person, a good woman, who was decidedly opposed to my acceptance of the appointment. Dr. Rush was very earnest in his advice that I should accept the office, and sent me a copy of a letter of a minister in Scotland to Dr. Witherspoon, which had much influence with him in deciding to come to this country. After setting aside a day of prayer with my wife to ask divine direction as to my duty in the critical circumstances in which I was placed, I found my mind gradually inclined to accept the office to which I had been elected. If my people had in general opposed it, I think I should not have left them. They had given me many proofs of their affectionate attachment, and within the year in which I went to Princeton, had made a considerable addition to my salary. But as they made no opposition, and the most intelligent of them were evidently of the opinion that I ought to accept the appointment, I considered it as a decisive direction of Providence, that

my duty called me to resign my pastoral charge and to assume the Presidentship of the College. I had been a professor in the institution when I was called to Philadelphia; but when I thought of being its President, especially as I was in an infirm state of health, it seemed an undertaking for which I was personally disqualified. But as I thought that the matter of duty was clear, I threw myself on the divine all-sufficiency, and went forward, determined to do my duty as well as I could, and to risk all consequences. I was busily employed in the whole month of September, and part of the month of October, in making my arrangements to remove and to resign my pastoral charge. Among these arrangements, the most important was the preparation of an address to my people, which was printed under the title of "Advice and exhortation; addressed to the people of the Second Presbyterian Congregation in Philadelphia, on resigning the pastoral charge of that Congregation." In the introduction to this address, I told my people truly what was the reason why I addressed them from the press rather than from the pulpit. But, although what I said was true, it was not the *whole truth*. The fact was, I was afraid to trust myself to attempt to deliver exactly all that is mentioned in my address. I felt that I was incapable of doing it without such divine aid as I thought I had no reason to expect. I find it noted in my diary, that I considered this address as constituting one of the most important acts of my ministerial life. It attracted much public attention at the time of its first publication, and was reprinted, if I rightly remember, at Pittsburgh. On the 20th of October the Pres-

bytery of Philadelphia, sitting at Germantown, dissolved my pastoral relation after it had existed twenty-five years and a half. I find in my diary, that I bore this occurrence "better than I had expected." Dr. Woodhull and his son appeared before the Presbytery on the part of the Trustees of the College, to ask for my dismissal. On the 29th of October I find the following entry in my journal: "Left the city for Princeton with my family, and arrived safely in the evening."

The faculty of the College then consisted of four individuals, viz. myself, Mr. Slack as Vice-President, Mr. Lindsley as Senior, and Mr. Clark as Junior Tutor. The several members of the faculty met before the expiration of the vacation, and at my instance, we agreed to set apart a day of special prayer in view of the duties before us. We prayed together once, and then the several members observed the day in private, by themselves. I find among my old papers that on this day I wrote as follows:

"*November 16th, 1812.* Having set apart this day for special prayer to God, in view of the duties on which I am entering as President of the College, I have thought it might be useful to me to commit some of my thoughts and resolutions to writing, that I may the more fully recollect and review them hereafter. I have entered on the station which I now occupy, with a deep sense of my insufficiency and unpreparedness for it. I have accepted of it (if I know myself) because I thought the call in providence was such that I should resist my duty if I refused it; and on the other hand, that if I accepted, I might hope that with all my incompetency, God might please to use me for some good.

If he shall, all the glory will of course belong to himself; and I am at all times to guard my treacherous heart against taking any of it to myself: and if he shall not, I am resigned to his sovereign and holy appointment, knowing that his ways are sometimes inscrutable, but always right. The following resolutions appear to me proper at present, but I make them not as immutable, but only as my guide till I shall be deliberately convinced in regard to any of them that they are improper. The most of them I am perfectly satisfied that I never ought to change; and these may the God of all grace enable me to fulfil. Resolved, 1st. To consider myself as devoted to the service of the College for the remainder of my days, or till I shall leave the station which I now occupy. I am not to seek ease, or wealth, or fame, as my chief object. I am to endeavour to be a father to the institution. I am to endeavour to the utmost to promote all its interests as a father does, in what relates to his children and property. 2d. To pray for the institution as I do for my family, that God may enable me to do my duty in it, prosper all its concerns, and especially that he may pour out his Spirit upon it, and make it what its pious founders intended it to be. 3d. To watch against the declension of religion in my own soul, to which I may be more exposed than when I was the pastor of a congregation, and to which the pursuits of science themselves may prove a temptation. 4th. To endeavour to acquire the true spirit of my station—a spirit of humble fortitude and firmness, of dignity and meekness, of decision and caution, of prudence and promptness, of courtesy and reserve, of piety unfeigned, with a suitable regard to the manners and opinions

of the world. 5th. To avoid anger and irritation. 6th. To avoid the extremes of talkativeness and silence in company. 7th. To endeavour to avoid all hurry, and to be always self-possessed. 8th. Not to speak hastily on any subject—not on a subject of science before my pupils, lest a mistake should injure me or them. 9th. To endeavour that my own family be exemplary in all things. 10th. To view every officer of the College as a younger brother, and every pupil as a child. 11th. To treat the officers of the College with great attention and respect. 12th. To treat the students with tenderness and freedom, but yet as never to permit them to treat me with familiarity, or to lose their respect for me. 13th. To be much employed in devising something for the improvement of the institution, or the advancement of its interests; but to avoid hasty and fanciful innovations of every kind. 14th. In all cases of discipline to act with great coolness, caution, and deliberation; and having done this, to fear no consequences, nor to trouble myself much about them. 15th. Having done my duty, to indulge no anxiety in regard to what may follow from it, at any time or in any way. This is to be left to God.”

I think that I can conscientiously say, that during the whole period of my presidency I endeavoured to act according to these resolutions; no doubt with many imperfections, but still as marking my recognised and habitual course of action. My first address to the students produced a considerable impression; inasmuch that some of them shed tears. This greatly encouraged me; but the appearance was delusive or fugitive. Notwithstanding all the arrangements I had made, and

the pains I had taken to convince them that their own good and the best interests of the institution were my only objects, I had the mortification to find that the majority of them seemed to be bent on mischief. I knew before I left my pastoral charge, that the College was in a most deplorable state; and I went with the resolution to reform it, or to fall under the attempt; and truly it seemed for some time to be questionable, which part of the alternative would be realized. My general plan was, to give the students more indulgences, of a lawful kind, than they had ever had before, that I might with more propriety counteract all unlawful practices. With this view, I got cards of invitation printed before I left the city, with an intention among other measures, to bring them by companies of eight at a time to my own table. This expedient lasted till the death of my second wife. It then ceased, and was not afterwards resumed; for I found that it had but little effect in reclaiming the vicious.

The Trustees of the College also failed to make a Board, both at the beginning and end of the session; so that I had to contend with the disorderly students without taking the oath of office. This happily was unknown to the young rogues, or perhaps they were ignorant that it was necessary; otherwise they would have made the plea, that I was not the lawful President of the College. One of the Trustees, who resided in Princeton, told a friend of mine who repeated it to me, that I would not be able to maintain my ground against the insubordinate youths of the institution. In this however, he made a mistake. The session closed

triumphantly in favour of the authority of the College. But a single Trustee gave me a single word of encouragement during the first session in the midst of all my difficulties. An arrangement had been made to induct me into office, in which Dr. Miller was to address me in Latin, and I was to answer him in the same language,* and then to deliver an extended discourse in English. The Board did not meet till the commencement of the summer session, in the month of May, so that the exercises would then have been palpably improper. My English address I afterwards made use of in composing my Baccalaureate discourse.

Every kind of insubordination that they could devise was practised. I bore it for a short period, in hope that the offenders would be reclaimed without extreme measures. But at length it became insufferable. In the course of the session the faculty dismissed seven or eight of the principal offenders, and admonished three or four. I wrote a long report to the Board, and requested every member of the faculty to report to me on the studies they had taken recitations on; and the steward to make a statement in regard to the refectory. All these reports were submitted to the Board of Trustees, when they met in the month of May, 1813. I introduced one practice which has been continued in the College ever since; and has, I believe, in substance, been imitated in other literary institutions. This practice consisted in sending a private circular to the parents or guardians of each student; in which was contained a statement of his literary standing, and his

* Appendix, G.

moral conduct; and invoking parental advice, in aid of college instruction and discipline. I also used my influence to establish a Bible society in the College, and the society remains to the present time. Contrary to primitive usage, the junior and senior classes, after the revolutionary war of our country, read nothing of the Greek or Latin classics. Their whole time was employed in mathematics, philosophy natural and moral, belles lettres, criticism, composition, and eloquence. In my own class in College, there was an individual who, I believe, was ignorant even of the Greek alphabet, yet he was admitted to his bachelor's degree; and the Latin salutatory oration, written by Dr. Wither-
spoon, was given to a man who came to me to help him to construe it. I also found one in the senior class, when I was President, who was totally ignorant of classic literature. I resolved to return to the primitive usage, and ordered the senior class to prepare a recitation on Longinus. This the most of them could not do; and as the fault was not their own, a part of the Iliad of Homer was substituted; but Longinus was read by the lower classes when they advanced to the senior year. We turned back two individuals at the close of the first session; and the faculty concluded their labours with prayer and thanksgiving.

I spent the spring vacation of the College, or a part of it, in Philadelphia; and had the melancholy pleasure, the day after my arrival in the city, of attending the funeral of Dr. Rush, which was most numerously attended; and of visiting and praying with his mourning family. I preached twice, or rather two Sabbaths, to the people of my former charge, both in the city and

in the Northern Liberties; and in the latter place once in the evening. I also visited a large number of my old parishioners; and to gratify one of them, a lady, I sat for my portrait. After ten days spent in the city I returned to Princeton, to meet the Board of the Trustees of the College, who at length held a meeting on the 4th of May, in which they did much business, and gave their sanction to the measures that the faculty had adopted in the preceding session.

There was a large addition to the students of the College at the commencement of the following session; my diary states the number at thirty, but several came subsequently. After putting in order the business of the College, I attended the General Assembly; and was with others successful in getting a vote passed for locating the Theological Seminary at Princeton. I also nominated Dr. Miller, at the request of the Board of Directors, as the Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government. I likewise introduced the communion service, and had the pleasure of communicating with the church members of my late pastoral charge. On my return to Princeton, the most noticeable things that occurred till the end of the session were the hearing of the theological students recite Blair's Lectures on belles lettres, accompanied with my own remarks on composition. This I did at the request of Dr. Alexander; for Dr. Miller was not yet in office. The other remarkable occurrence was the sickness of a large number of the students, and one of the tutors, Mr. Lindsley. I now had a good opportunity to carry into effect my tenth recorded resolution, "to view every officer of the College as a younger bro-

ther, and every pupil as a child." This I faithfully performed. I visited the sick by night and by day; and when they were convalescent, often sent them food from my own table. I thought that a son of Dr. Ramsey of Charleston, South Carolina, would have died; but he, with all the rest, happily recovered. Princeton is a very healthy place; Dr. Witherspoon used to call it the Montpelier of America. In all my knowledge of the College, I do not remember to have seen or heard of as many sick students at one time as I witnessed in the summer session of my first presidential year.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE YEAR 1813 TO 1818.

I WAS President of the College of New Jersey for ten years; and I have now given somewhat in detail the occurrences of the first year. This I shall not do in regard to the nine following years; but shall only mention some particulars of what I think most worthy of notice. In one thing I made a palpable mistake, I had thought that if the College was once reduced to a state of entire order, it would be likely to remain in that state. I did not consider that all the students of the institution are changed every four years. But this was not all; I found by experience, that a constant attention to discipline was always necessary; that if the pressure was removed, the lapse into disorder would invariable issue.

My eldest son, Robert Stockton Green, died at the very close of this year. He died at Boston, on Tuesday the 28th of September, and the next day his corpse was deposited in Mr. Dexter's cemetery;—the very day of our annual commencement; eight years after taking his degree in this College. He was born July 30th, 1787; and was, of course, twenty-six years and two months of age when he died, wanting two days. He had been exhausted by the heat of the city of Philadelphia, and by his business as a lawyer; and

came out of the city to recover his health. He was with me on the 31st of July and the 1st of August. He was emaciated and pallid, but not sick. He left me on the morning of the 2d of August, on a visit to his brother Jacob at Albany, and intending to spend a short time at the Ballston Springs. He wrote to me from Albany, which he reached in a few days, and was as well as usual. He went to the Springs, and there met with a particular friend, Mr. William Appleton. The two agreed to visit the military stations on lake Ontario; and to go to the falls of Niagara. This they accomplished; and were in an attack made on Fort George by the British troops. From Buffalo, after visiting the falls of Niagara, my son wrote me a particular account of his journey and adventures—the last letter that he wrote me with his own hand. He returned to Albany apparently in health, and spent a day or two with his brother. He and Mr. Appleton then set out for Boston. Between Pittsfield and Northampton he was wet by rain in travelling. The next day he was taken ill of what appeared to be a rheumatic complaint to which he was subject, accompanied with some fever. By stopping one day he was somewhat recruited, and travelled the day following. Again he lay by for a day, and then was able to reach Boston, where he went to bed and sent for a physician. E. Rockwood, Esq., a lawyer of eminence, who married Miss Hayward (a former parishioner of mine, and intimate friend of my son) took Robert to his house. Here he received every possible attention which friendship and medical skill could supply. For about ten days he was not thought to be dangerously ill, either by

friends or physician; although I rather suspect that he considered himself in danger. For during this period (using the hand of his friend Appleton) he dictated a letter to me of such a kind as he never wrote before. It was tender and affectionate in a high degree, recognising his dependence on God, and expressing a strong desire to see me. He was apparently recovering till the night but one before his death; when he was taken with a profuse discharge of blood from the bowels, under which he sunk rapidly, and died on Friday morning. He died without a struggle, groan, or the motion of a muscle, and declared repeatedly the day before his death, that he had not experienced a single pain from the time he entered Mr. Rockwood's family. He had his senses fully till within a few hours of his dissolution; and I was glad to learn, that his nurse observed him frequently engaged, as she supposed, in earnest devotion—his hands clasped, and his lips moving. Doubtless I have the partiality of a parent; and affection awakened by the death of a favourite child, is apt to magnify his amiable qualities. This, notwithstanding, I believe I may say with truth, that few parents could lose as much in a child as I have lost in mine. He was tall and well made, had a most impressive and pleasing countenance, with an eye intelligent and benignant in a very high degree. He had also an amenity of temper and a gracefulness and elegance of manners very rarely seen. He was frank, candid, facetious, hospitable and kind. He had more knowledge, and of more various kinds, than any one of his age that I ever personally knew, though not so much as some I have read of. His eminence as a

lawyer, of his own standing, both as to distinction and prospects, was without a rival. He was also a handsome and eloquent speaker.

He had a full belief in divine revelation; not the effect merely of education, (for he had at one time been on the brink of infidelity,) but the result of close and profound examination, terminating in a thorough and unwavering conviction. He had examined and was a complete master of the deistical controversy in all its parts and bearings, and could sooner and more fully put an infidel to silence than any other man I have ever known. He was orthodox in the great outlines of his religious creed. Talking to a friend a short time before his death, about the Unitarian system, he said, "Take from the gospel the divinity and atonement of Christ, and you have little of importance behind." He was free from vice, and a constant and reverential attendant on public worship. His seriousness was growing, and had manifestly increased in the last year of his life. Whether it had reached to vital practical piety is known to God, in whose hands I leave him. It certainly would now give me more comfort if he had been unequivocally and eminently pious, than that he should have possessed all the brilliant talents and attainments by which he was undoubtedly distinguished. In this dispensation I recognize my unspeakable indebtedness to God in the following particulars: 1. That during all the illness of my son, I felt more engagedness in praying that it might be sanctified to him, than that he might survive it. 2. That my will was in a degree very remarkably and unusually for me, swallowed up in the divine will, as to what should be the issue, when

I knew that his life was in danger. 3. That for the forty-eight hours, during which I had to wait for letters which would probably inform me of my son's death, I was not greatly agitated nor anxious; and that I was so prepared for the mournful news of his death, that when I received it, I was not disappointed. 4. For remarkable composure, submission and resignation, for me, under the severe bereavement, so that I lost little or no sleep, was able to attend to all ordinary concerns as usual, and had in general great quietness of spirit. One day, indeed, I was permitted to see, that but for the preventing and supporting grace of God, I should be ready to murmur, repine, and be overwhelmed with dejection and distress. But here was the mercy, *I did but see it*, and I trust was preserved from it, and was made to partake of these consolations, and to follow the advice which on similar occasions I have endeavoured so often to suggest to others—to God be all the praise.

The improvement I would strive to make of this dispensation, is—1. To impress on my mind more deeply and sensibly than has ever yet been done, that both I and all my family are absolutely in the hand of God; to take any of us, or all of us, out of life, when, how, or where he pleases; and that in so doing, he will not do us wrong, or deal hardly with us. Yea, that I ought to rejoice in this, and be satisfied that in every privation I meet with, my covenant God chooses better for me than I could choose for myself. 2. To trust in God to sustain, support and comfort me, under all his dispensations. He has done so under this, which is one of the most grievous. But let me remember that in order to this, I must really depend on and trust in *Him*

and not on *myself*. Left to myself, I shall be crushed before the moth.

3. To think less than I have done of the attainments of science and of intellectual distinction, when not connected with religion. Avaricious men are apt to desire unduly that their children may be rich. If I know myself, this has not been my prevailing transgression. But a degree of the same kind of sin, I do believe I have been very prone to, that is, in having my heart unduly set on my children being what my eldest was in intellectual wealth, without considering in the degree that I ought, that this also is vanity unless sanctified by divine grace. I hope and trust that I have supremely desired for them all, that they should be truly the Lord's: and I think that for two or three years past, I had more of this than before. Yet I have certainly been in a degree, an idolater of science. God has taken my idol. Let me renounce for ever my sin in this respect.

4. To be more earnest than I have ever yet been for the saving conversion of my children. As already stated, I hope I have increased in this earnestness within a few years past, and on this partly is founded the hope which I have, that my deceased son had received sanctifying grace before his death; especially, as he showed for more than a year, a growing seriousness and attachment to religious duties: but yet I have never been as earnest on this subject as I ought to be. Let me then hear and regard the solemn call which I have had to more fervency of prayer for the salvation of my offspring; and let me not suffer to pass without improvement any opportunity I may have to say or do something, and every thing, that may tend to engage them

to attend to the one thing needful. I have hoped that God may sanctify to them the death of their brother. O, most merciful God! grant this most desirable event for the sake of Christ my Saviour. I trust that he did sanctify it to my son Jacob. For about two years after his brother's decease he made a public profession of religion at Princeton; and in conversing with him on that occasion, if I rightly remember, he told me that his first serious attention to the state of his soul was produced by Robert's death. He afterwards commenced the study of theology. 5. To be more engaged for the conversion of young people in general, especially of my dear pupils. I have long felt peculiarly interested for the young, but not enough so. I have not been as deeply sensible as I ought to be, how soon all these opportunities and privileges might be terminated by death. I am now at the head of an institution devoted to the instruction of ingenuous youth, who are destined to teach others, and to have a great influence on society. Their religious instruction is especially committed to me. O, may I feel the importance and responsibility of my situation; and may this event in providence stir me up to the greatest engagedness, watchfulness, diligence and tenderness in endeavouring to promote by every means I can devise, and by every exertion I can make, the eternal salvation of the precious youth of whom I have the charge—Lord, direct, assist, and bless me in this.

6. Finally my son's death is to be improved to impress my mind more deeply with the emptiness of the world, and the importance of being constantly prepared for death and eternity. How very uncertain,

unsatisfying, and delusive are our dearest earthly enjoyments; how deceitful and sorely disappointing are often our fondest hopes and most flattering prospects. Let my heart be less set than it has been on any thing so unworthy of its best affections. Let these affections be more set on things above, where Christ Jesus sitteth at the right hand of God. My son died suddenly—so may I also. Let me live constantly with my lamp trimmed and burning. O God! enable me so to live that I may at last be found of thee in peace.

A small part of the foregoing appears in a note at the end of the volume of my Baccalaureate discourses, with an inscription which I intended to place on a cenotaph, but which I have hitherto omitted, and which there is little prospect will ever be accomplished. My discourses above referred to, and this narrative of my life, if it shall ever be printed, will be a better exhibition of the character of my eldest son, than the cenotaph which I contemplated when I wrote the note I have mentioned.

After the expiration of my first presidential year, I spent the autumnal vacation which ensued, on a visit with my wife and son James to the place of my nativity, where I preached three times, twice in the church and once at my sister's. Afterwards I went to Philadelphia, where I was so ill of a cold and hoarseness that I did not attempt to preach, but attended to the settlement of the affairs of my deceased son; and then returned to Princeton on the 28th of October. I was in the habit for a number of years, of setting apart one day in a month for special prayer. I shall give from my diary an account of one of these prayer days,

in view of the winter session of my second presidential year.

"*November 2.* This day I observed as a day of special prayer, with a little abstinence from food not amounting to fasting, which I think disqualifies me for devotional exercises in the after part of the day. My objects this day were to seek the sanctification of the sore dispensation of Providence in the death of my eldest son, and to pray for grace and assistance and blessing in my office in the institution of which I have the charge. In the former part of the day I had enlargement in prayer, and the whole day was, I hope, profitable. I went over in prayer the several particulars written at large in the preceding pages of my diary in regard to my son."

Till the 9th of November my diary was kept regularly. Then ensues the following entry:

"From the 9th of November, 1813, till the 9th of March, 1814, I did not keep a regular diary. It was one of the most busy and one of the most afflictive periods of my life. For a fortnight after the College session commenced, the institution was in the most perfect order. The system I had been labouring to establish seemed to have gone into complete effect. I was saying to myself, 'this is all I could wish.' On a sudden, without any known cause, disorder commenced; and there was a series of attempts, in every imaginable form, to promote and produce insubordination and mischief. The roof of the privy was burned, and a kind of infernal machine was fired in the College edifice; many small crackers were also fired; theft was committed; the walls were scrawled on; there was clapping, hissing and screaming in going to the refectory.

I have no doubt but that the whole was the result of a deep laid, deliberate, desperate plot to subvert the discipline and order of the house. In the mean time I had for eight weeks the worst cough and cold that I ever had in my life. I lost a good deal of flesh, and was unable for a long time to lie on my left side; my wife was in delicate health; my brother John Wickliffe visited me, and soon died about seven miles from this. My wife, after suffering much, was prematurely confined, and her infant was still born. On the 9th of March, after suffering greatly, she expired about half after five o'clock in the afternoon. On the evening of the 11th of March, after returning from her funeral, I write this—I have had some searching of heart in regard to my afflictions since September last, when my son died. I have been on my knees this evening, uttering some such language as this—Show me, O God, why thou contendest with me. If these afflictions are rebukes of thy displeasure, discover to me my sin, humble me effectually for it, lead me to the blood of cleansing, and restore me to thy favour. But thou hast said, ‘Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth;’ and if these afflictions are the evidence of my adoption and of thy love, I bid them welcome, and I do hope that in very faithfulness thou hast afflicted me; because thou hast as yet most wonderfully and mercifully supported me under all, carried me through all, given me strength far beyond my own, and many sweet consolations in the midst of my sorrows and my sufferings. O that it may please God to be with me in my widowed state; keep me from all the evils and snares to which that

state is liable; support, direct, uphold, comfort and bless me. O may He take the charge of my dear motherless babe, who is called by my name. His mother, whose precious remains I have this day committed to their kindred dust, was a most excellent woman; of a delicate bodily frame, but of a most vigorous mind, of an excellent judgment, improved in mental attainments far beyond the most of her sex, eminently discreet, perfectly acquainted with all household concerns, and diligent in attention to them. I trust she was also a real, practical, experimental Christian. She was likewise a most excellent counsellor, and one whose attachment to me was strong indeed. Thanks to God who gave and continued her to me for four years and about five months. But she was lent, and the loan is recalled. O my God! help me to say—and do I not say it from the heart—thy will be done.”

I will here transcribe a part of the report which I made to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, at their spring meeting in the year 1814. It is as follows: “On the morning of the Lord’s day, the 9th of January, at about 2 o’clock the privy of the College was discovered to be on fire. The steward, who made the discovery, called up the tutors of the College, and they called up a number of orderly students, who with the assistance of the steward and the servants, extinguished the fire with so little noise, that the occurrence was unknown to the greater part of the students, till daylight discovered it to them. In the morning it appeared, that the door of the prayer hall had been opened and entered, (as we afterwards ascertained, either by the carelessness or treachery of one of the servants, who

had charge of the key,) and that arrangements had been made for some mighty work of mischief, which was to have been simultaneous with the burning of the privy, but which had proved abortive. Loose powder, a quantity of tinder, and a large peg, were found lying on the stage in the hall, before the pulpit. The day passed without disturbance, and with no neglect of any of the usual exercises. But on the evening on this day—the Sabbath—a little after nine o'clock, the tremendous explosion took place, of what has been denominated the *big cracker*. To save myself the trouble of description, as well as to give you a better idea of this infernal machine, I have directed it to be brought before you. About two pounds of gunpowder were confined and exploded in the cavity of that log. The machine was placed behind the front middle door of the second entry. The discharge cracked the adjacent walls from top to bottom, broke almost all the glass in the entry where it was placed, and much in the other entries; and one of the pieces which it threw off was driven through the door of the prayer hall, to which it was opposite. The merciful providence of God preserved the lives and limbs of several students, as well as the tutors of the College who had passed near it only a few minutes before the explosion. No individual was injured, although the whole house was greatly alarmed. I was walking in my study at the time of the explosion and hastened into the College edifice as fast as possible. The students went peaceably to their rooms after a few minutes. The faculty convened in the room of one of the students, and after securing the remains of the machine, making arrangements with the steward

to watch the College edifice through the night, and to take measures for investigating the business in the next day, adjourned a little after midnight. From the moment I saw the remains of this machine I was perfectly satisfied, that with the vigilance we had used, it never could have been manufactured in the College edifice. It was also now apparent that the original design was to have fired it in the prayer hall, before the pulpit, at the time when the building was burning; and this has accordingly been since confessed by the actors in this diabolical affair. Had not this design been defeated by the going out of the match, as we have since learned, it is impossible to calculate the extent of the mischief which it might have produced. But by the good providence of God (the interposition of which in this, and in many other instances deserves our most grateful notice and remembrance) the real intention of the perpetrators of this villainy was almost entirely defeated, and the consequences of it have been ultimately turned on themselves.

On Monday morning, the faculty convened and resolved to make every possible effort, both in the College and out of it, to detect and punish in the most exemplary manner, all who had been concerned in this enormous outrage. For two days not a trace of the perpetrators of the mischief could be discovered. Perseverance, however, at length enabled us to obtain proof, that two individuals, late students in College, and then residents in town, were concerned in fabricating and charging the infernal machine. (These individuals were named to the Trustees; but for obvious reasons they shall not be mentioned here. Other

names have been and shall be, in like manner omitted.) A prosecution in the criminal court was immediately commenced against them; and they were held under a recognizance to appear and take their trial at New Brunswick on the 8th of March. One of them was afterwards discharged on account of his youth and comparative innocence. But their seizure and prosecution were the signal for other disorders in College. The master spirits of mischief had by this time poisoned the minds of almost the whole of the young and thoughtless part of the College, and engaged them to do things which those who prompted them took care to avoid for themselves. The management of it was extremely perplexing. Not an individual, for a number of days could be fixed on as guilty; for the whole took place in the dark, and in the crowd as the students in mass were going to supper in the refectory. At length however the disorder was extended to the entries of College. When this took place, I on a certain evening took a candle in my hand and went to the passage through which the mass of students return from supper. They passed me in perfect silence and respect; but as soon as they got out of sight in the upper entries, some of them began the usual yell. The Vice-president ran through the crowd and seized one of the small rogues in the very act of clapping and hallooing, took him up in his arms, brought him through the whole corps, and set him down before me, as I stood with the candle in my hand, talking to a crowd that I had called around me. I seized the opportunity to address them at some length; and to endeavour to reason to shame and to intimidate them

out of their folly. The circumstances allowed me to talk in a manner which would not have been so proper, speaking from the pulpit, and it certainly had a good effect.

It was manifestly the plan of the leaders of the existing insubordination to keep themselves clear of censure; and by getting us to lay the arm of authority heavily on the youngest part of the students, to spread the spirit of uneasiness and dissatisfaction as widely as possible. We therefore forebore till our arrangements were complete to manage these leaders, and then put the whole under an effectual interdict at once. Among the artifices practised at this time to spread discontent, was the exciting of the College to ask for a holiday. Two or three private applications and delegations were made to me for the purpose in the most respectful manner. My answer was, that there should be no holiday till there was perfect order in College. They tried to call a general meeting of the students for the purpose; but I went into the midst of them and dispersed them without the least difficulty, or appearance of dissatisfaction. After all their plans were completely defeated, and the College became orderly, and they had given up all expectation of the holiday, we surprised them without their asking for it. We permitted them to go on a sleighing party, which in no instance, that I have heard of, was abused; and I lent, to as many as chose to ask me, small sums of money for the occasion. They were thus taught and felt, that what I had told them was true, that they should in no degree interfere with the government; that we would govern alone, and effectually; but that so governing, we would deal with them

not only equitably, but with tenderness and indulgence. At this time the sentiment I have just expressed seemed to pervade the house, and it gave us general quietness till about a month since. We took this interval to dismiss a number who exposed themselves by continuing to be mischievous after their comrades had given it up. By dismissal, and requesting parents to remove their sons, we cleared the house of four or five of the most troublesome of the younger students. When the trial of the individual most concerned in preparing and firing the big cracker approached, on the 8th of March, it became a subject of serious consideration whether we should suggest to our counsel to summon any of the students as witnesses or not. On consulting our lawyers on the subject, they represented it as of much importance to the success of the suit, and we accordingly assented to it. They subpoenaed seven; some of whom we suspected to be guilty, and some who were free from suspicion. No difficulty or disorder whatever attended the serving of the process. The students, with the senior tutor, who was also subpoenaed, were sent to the tavern, where the process was served on all at once; and the whole set off immediately for New Brunswick. They were gone three days. The principal culprit pleaded guilty to his indictment on the criminal prosecution, and threw himself on the mercy of the court. He was fined one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution. He is still bound to answer our civil suit in June next, under a recognizance of one thousand dollars. Four of the students in their statement to the grand jury, declined giving testimony, on the plea that they might implicate themselves. This

was what we expected, and were resolved, when they should throw themselves back on our moral discipline, to exercise it upon them and dismiss them from the College, as soon as we should be prepared to do so. They, however, hoped that the evidence that they gave before the grand jury would be kept a secret; and it was not known to them for a considerable time after their return, that we were acquainted with the nature of their evidence, which circumstance brought us to action a day or two sooner than we intended to commence it. It may perhaps be thought to have been superfluous, and to savour of timidity, yet I maintain that under the responsibility on which I acted, I was perfectly right to request, as I did, the presence of the Chief Justice of the State, sheriff of the county, and several constables, and a meeting of the inhabitants of the town. I always hoped that the knowledge of these preparations would prevent the necessity of using them; and the event has justified the conjecture. But to have omitted the preparations would have been in the highest degree rash and criminal. It was found that the Chief Justice and sheriff could not attend; but this only hastened the arrangements and zeal of the village; so that we were fully prepared to act at the time when action was expedient: and the issue of the whole has been, that the town has passed ordinances, a spirit has been awakened, and arrangements organized, which form a system for similar emergencies in all time to come; and which have been wanted ever since the existence of the College till this hour. The doings of the town on the occasion, and the vote of thanks, and explanation of the views and wishes of the faculty

which followed the doings, I herewith lay before the Board."

I now resume my narrative, with remarking, that the arrangements I have mentioned were hastened in consequence of the criminated students discovering that we had information of the nature of the testimony they had given before the court; or rather of their refusing to give any lest they should criminate themselves. One of the number, with a view to extenuate his own guilt, voluntarily informed us, that he was only privy to the whole business of the crackers and the burning, but had no active hand in the execution; nay, that he endeavoured to dissuade the other parties from their design. We told him that privity and concealment of such a diabolical transaction were no small crime. But that as he had voluntarily, and without our seeking it, informed us that he knew all concerned, and that the disclosure would not criminate himself, we were bound to insist, and should insist, that he should disclose the whole; and I showed him the printed ordinance requiring the students to bear testimony in such a case. He explicitly refused to bear any testimony; and this brought the business to a crisis. The ground we took was to consider the four who refused to give testimony at court as having confessed their guilt, and to treat them accordingly. After considerable deliberation and some hesitation, we at length unanimously resolved to offer them forgiveness on the following terms: 1st. That all who had been associated or concerned in this base transaction should present themselves before the faculty. 2d. That they should answer all the questions and make all the disclosures that the faculty should require.

3d. That they should explicitly ask the forgiveness of the faculty. 4th. That they should hold themselves sacredly pledged to show an exemplary regard to the laws, and respect to the College themselves, and to promote the same in others with their whole influence. 5th. That they should then be freely forgiven; but on the express condition, that while their conduct remained unexceptionable, their concern in the mischief contemplated should not operate to their disadvantage; but that if their conduct was not unexceptionable, their agency in that mischief should then be called into view. The motives which prompted the faculty to this course were: (1.) It was believed that the course contemplated would as well sustain the authority and discipline of the house as any other. (2.) There were (strange as it may seem) two or three individuals among the concerned who, except in this instance, were among the most exemplary students; and almost the whole were among the first youth in the house, in point of literary standing. (3.) It would bring out the whole corps of those who were concerned; which it was of the utmost importance to know, and who could not otherwise be certainly known. (4.) It would enable us to establish a point in our prosecution for the chief culprit, viz: that the cracker and the burning of the privy were in design connected together, and that the same persons were concerned in both. (5.) It would, after all, be putting the youth, now fully and clearly known, on their good behaviour; whom we were always willing to retain if they should really reform; and if they did not, we could afterwards dismiss them for this as well as their future misconduct; and the

whole world (even their parents and other partial friends) would say that we had acted not only with equity, but with lenity also. Having made up their minds to pursue the course which has been specified, the faculty sent for the four students who had refused to give testimony at court, told them that their guilt was considered as established, that the natural course to be pursued in their case was, dismissal by the faculty, probably expulsion by the Trustees, and perhaps a criminal prosecution by the State. That in these circumstances the faculty were disposed to offer an amnesty on the conditions and explanations which I have already specified; with this in addition, which was distinctly explained and inculcated, that in the whole business the concerned should be considered as throwing themselves absolutely and entirely on the discretion of the faculty in every and in all particulars not specified, with this general assurance to encourage it, that the faculty would require nothing which they did not conscientiously think the interests of the institution required; with this reservation to prevent false pleas on their part, that the faculty would surrender nothing which they did believe the interests of the institution to demand. With this understanding, the four students were allowed one hour and no more, to consult their associates and return an answer. At the end of the hour, they returned with a written answer, that their associates would not agree to the proposition; but that they would agree to it for themselves, except that they would not disclose their associates. It required but little time to decide on this answer. The

four students were immediately called, and I addressed them I believe in these words:

“As the fundamental article of the proposition made you by the faculty—that all who were concerned with you in the offence should come forward with you—has not been complied with, it has become my painful duty to announce to you that you are dismissed from College by order of the faculty. You are allowed two hours and no more, to take the whole of your effects out of College. And now with a lenity which, in our apprehension you have not deserved, I inform you that a criminal prosecution is hanging over you, which you may avoid if you can.”

The dismissed students went immediately into the College edifice, whither I requested the members of the faculty instantly to repair, and assured them that I should follow as soon as possible. The College through the whole morning had been in a great turmoil. Probably no occasion could occur that would produce greater excitement. The parties arraigned were remarkably popular. The two champions of the literary societies for the Junior Class were among them, and many believed that they were to be expelled for not bearing testimony against their fellow students. With it all, however, every mischief maker slunk into concealment as soon as an officer of the College was seen near him. While I was preparing to go into the College edifice, one of the dismissed students of the Senior Class came into my study in much perturbation, and told me that since we had dismissed the four, the whole of their associates, without being requested, had volun-

tarily come forward, and were willing now to surrender themselves to the discretion of the faculty, if we would only permit the whole procedure to go back to the position in which it stood an hour ago. I directed him to request the attendance of the faculty in my study, which he did in great haste. The faculty had even less objection to this measure than at first, because we had had the opportunity actually to dismiss four, and by so doing, to satisfy them and the whole College of our determination to make thorough work of this business. The individual who called on me was informed that the faculty would receive all his associates on the ground originally specified. Accordingly nine in number came over to my study and cast themselves on our discretion. As soon as they entered and had taken their stand, I said to them, "You solemnly declare that the whole of those concerned in the offence now in contemplation are now present." This was explicitly affirmed by one of their number in behalf of the whole. It was at the time fully believed by us, and I am sorry to say that we have since discovered that it was not true, that there were five or six more, making in all about fifteen, who were really implicated in the plot of the chief culprit. The nine then before the faculty, (and these they solemnly declared to be the whole) were directed to withdraw till the faculty should determine on the questions to be asked, and on the other circumstances of the submissions to be made and the pardon to be granted. The faculty agreed to ask but two questions in substance, although a considerable number were asked explanatory of the two main interrogatories. The first related to the views, motives,

and designs which had induced them to commit this outrage; and they could assign no other, and declared they could think of no other, than dissatisfaction for the dismissal of the individual whom the civil court had refused to indict on account of his youth. The second question was, whether the firing of the privy and the explosion of the cracker, were not originally to have taken place at the same time, and the cracker to have been exploded in the prayer hall. To this they immediately and unequivocally answered in the affirmative. After these answers, the questions were put to each individual by name, "Do you ask the forgiveness of the faculty for what you have done in this concern?" And each individual was required to answer, "Yes, I do." The other question, as heretofore stated, was, "Do you hold yourself sacredly pledged to show an exemplary regard to the laws, and respect to the authority of the College yourself, and to promote the same regard and respect in others with your whole influence?" To this; also, each individual by name answered, "Yes, I do." The President then said, "You are freely forgiven: while your conduct shall be unexceptionable, this occurrence shall not operate to your disadvantage; but if it shall not continue unexceptionable, your past defection shall then be called into view." The President then made a short and solemn address to the whole of them, under which some of them appeared a good deal affected; and they then withdrew, requesting us not to publish this transaction in detail to the College, and receiving for answer, that we should do in this, and in all other particulars, as should be dictated by that discretion on which they had cast themselves, and we had

exercised, and should exercise with as much lenity, and no more, than the good of the institution should seem to permit. All noise immediately ceased in College, and the house became as tranquil and orderly as it ever was. The next day we drew up a statement of our proceedings, which we caused to be made known both in the College and the town.

The above report was written toward the close of the winter session of 1813 and 1814; but while the College was undergoing the semi-annual examination, the chief culprit returned to Princeton, and I, in fulfilment of my duty, sent him a note forbidding him to come on College grounds. This was on the 4th of April. I shall transcribe from my diary the transactions of a number of days till the adjournment of the Trustees of the College, who met on the 11th of the month.

“April 5th—(the day after the return of the chief culprit)*—*I attended to the examination of the College. There were crackers in the institution to-day, and the evening was a most painful one to me. We met in faculty in a room of one of the tutors, and determined to dismiss two or three of the students.

“April 6th. This morning the faculty admonished four students and dismissed two. I took the examination of the Senior Class on belles lettres and wrote letters to the parents of the two dismissed students. The faculty met in the evening, and a pistol was fired at the door of one of the tutors. I ought to be very thankful to God for his support this day.

“April 7th. Attended examination. We had a crack-er in College to-day, and in the evening a company of

students in the front Campus behaved in a very improper manner.

"*April* 8th. Attended before breakfast the examinations of the Sophomore and Freshman Classes, which were finished, and these classes dismissed to go home.

"*April* 9th. Attended the examination of the Junior Class, who were examined by myself on the Bible. The week past, my religious exercises have not been special, except that I hope I have had some engagedness in praying for direction, and assistance in regard to the discipline of the College. This evening, the faculty sat a good while in my study and conversed about the affairs of the College, but agreed on nothing definite.

"10th. Sabbath. Mr. Oliphant preached for us in the morning a good discourse. In the afternoon I heard the usual Bible recitation, and had considerable freedom in speaking on the topics recited. In the evening, I corrected the report of the Bible Society of the College.

"11th. Attended examinations and finished them. Met the faculty and wrote a sentence for the criminal students for to-morrow morning. This day and evening my mind has been burdened almost beyond endurance.

"12th. I slept but little last night. Rose early, prayed and prepared for the important business of the day. Called up and dismissed a student for writing an insolent letter to a trustee of the College. Called up also the eight students, whom we propose to dismiss. (These were the same students who had been pardoned by the faculty, as had been reported to the Board of Trustees.

There were nine mentioned in the report, but we had dismissed three, after the report was written, one of whom must have made up the number nine.) I began to read their sentence, when they interrupted me and begged to be allowed to prove their innocence of the first charge, which was, that they had dealt fraudulently in their contract. We proposed to allow them to prove it by taking an oath before the Board of Trustees; it was however afterwards agreed not to require an oath. I immediately went to the Board of Trustees, and did business with them.

"13th. Attended the Board of Trustees, and the criminal students were examined before the Board: a committee was appointed, consisting of four of the oldest and most influential members, to confer with me. They met in my study, and spent the evening in conversation; and after being at a plunge for a long time, we at last hit on what I hope is right. After the members of the Board left me, I wrote a sentence for the faculty to pronounce on the criminal students.

"14th. The students, who were under discipline, were called before the Trustees, and the Board caused to be read to them certain resolutions which had been agreed on, and then committed them to the faculty. The faculty met in my study, and dismissed two of the number. The remaining six were called before the Board of Trustees, and required to renounce their insubordinate principles; and thus the matter was terminated. I did business with the Board through the day, and we finished in the evening."

I think I ought to insert from my diary the statement of my religious exercises, which I wrote on

Saturday, 16th of the month. "The week past, I hope I have had some engagedness in praying for assistance and direction; and O! I can never be thankful enough to God, for assisting and carrying me through the trying scenes of this week. I am much exhausted. In the evening I tried a little to prepare for the communion to-morrow." It was but about two months after the death of my second wife, and in a low state of bodily health, that I had to encounter all the College difficulties, which are stated above; so that I had good reason to be very thankful to God for carrying me through them.

The spring vacation I spent chiefly in visiting my friends, both in the city of Philadelphia and in Hanover, the place of my nativity. I preached in both places, and then attended the Presbytery of New Brunswick, which sat at Princeton, and appointed me to be one of their representatives in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. I accordingly attended the Assembly from the 20th of May to the end of the month. I also attended several meetings of the Directors of the Theological Seminary, and likewise a meeting of the Corporation of the Widows' Fund, of which I have been the Secretary above fifty years, and am still in office.

After visiting my friends in the city, and preaching to the people of my former charge, I returned to Princeton, and found that the College had been orderly during my absence. Nothing but what ordinarily takes place in a literary institution occurred in that over which I presided during the summer session of the current year of 1814. The most noticeable event that took place,

was the self destruction of a youth that I had sent to a grammar school about four miles distant from Princeton. This was frequently done when youth were sent to College who were not prepared to enter any of the classes of the institution. The unhappy individual I have mentioned showed no symptoms of insanity, and none of particular dissatisfaction of his situation.

I will take this occasion to mention, that before the erection of the edifice of the Theological Seminary the students of that institution worshipped with the students of the College on the Lord's day, and Dr. Alexander and Dr. Miller (for there were no other theological professors) took turns with me in preaching to our common pupils.

The fall vacation of this year was spent in first attending the Presbytery of New Brunswick at the residence of Dr. Finley, on whose invitation I preached to his people. I then visited my sister at Hanover, and went thence and attended the Synod at New York city. I then returned to New Brunswick, and made an engagement to preach there on the following Sabbath, which I accordingly did. The remainder of the vacation I spent in Philadelphia in visiting my friends, and in preaching to the people of my former pastoral charge. On the 5th of November I returned to Princeton, and on the 10th of that month the winter session of the College commenced. It was during this session that the great revival of religion took place under my presidency. For some time I preached in turn with the theological professors; but about the middle of December I was attacked with such an affection of dizziness and swimming of my head as disqualified me from

standing to deliver a regular sermon; so that from the time I have mentioned, till the 2d of April, I did not preach a regular discourse. My place was well supplied by the professors of the Seminary; and indeed I was fully occupied by the business of the College; for although I could not stand to preach, yet by keeping my seat I addressed the students a weekly lecture, and made short addresses to them, both on the Sabbath after their Bible recitations, and on Saturday evening after prayers. I also conversed and prayed with individuals who were under religious impressions, in my study, whenever they requested it, which was very often; so that I was constantly employed, as I heard the usual recitations of the senior class on belles lettres, logic, and moral philosophy; that is, on one or other of these subjects. I shall transcribe from my diary what I wrote the first time after this that I delivered a regular discourse.

"April 2d, 1815. Sabbath. I preached in the prayer hall in College in the morning, from the words, 'That rock was Christ.' I had no difficulty worth naming in delivering my sermon. I think that in this I see clearly the answer of prayer. I hope I feel some gratitude to God who has permitted and enabled me once more to preach a regular discourse. O to be humble, believing, and thankful. I attended the usual recitation on the Bible in the afternoon, and had the headache in the evening, but it went over before bed-time."

In April, 1815, my report to the Trustees of the College contains the following article on the "Government, order, and discipline of the institution."

"For a year past the government and order of the

College have, it is believed, been as good as they can ever be expected to be. Within the year, we have had no attempt to resist or counteract the authority of the institution, except that which was made toward the close of the last summer session by the chief culprit concerned in the firing the big cracker; and the issue which was given to that affair, has, it is hoped, put to rest all expectation of resisting with success the execution of our laws. Through the last session, your officers have indeed enjoyed halcyon days. They have experienced no ordinary pleasure in directing the studies and conduct of liberal-minded youth, who have emulated each other in seeking their own improvement, in giving pleasure to their teachers, in obedience to the laws, and in doing honour to the place of their education. I think it a duty to state, and I should lay a restraint on my own feelings if I did not state, that I consider the youth who form our charge at present, as decidedly the most amiable and exemplary that I have ever seen. In such a number, there is doubtless a difference of character and a portion of juvenile indiscretion. This can never be otherwise. But in the great mass of the present inhabitants of the house, there is nothing malignant, nothing deliberately vicious; but all that is the reverse. The happy cause of this will afterwards be noticed. In the midst of all, however, we have had more cases of discipline, and more dismissions, than in the preceding session. But the truth is, the general state of the College has been such, that a vicious student could not be concealed. He was easily and immediately detected: and the public sentiment of the College so far from being hostile to discipline, has called for it,

has anticipated and gone before it, and has justified and sanctioned it whenever it has taken place. A solitary cracker was fired in the course of the winter, and was universally understood to be the expression of a spiteful opposition to the general attention to religion then at its height. It produced no other effect than to fill the house with abhorrence and detestation for the perpetrator of the act. Though we had no palpable proof in regard to the guilty party, yet we were satisfied fully as to the individual who was to be so regarded. Nearly the whole College were looking and wishing for his dismissal. But we thought it right in the circumstances of the case to retain him, and did retain him for more than a month in hopes of his reformation. But at length we were compelled by his open violation of law to dismiss him. The other cases of discipline will be seen in the minutes of the faculty. The one that has been stated in some detail, has been noticed as serving to illustrate a little the subject of this part of my report. The names of the dismissed may be seen in the catalogue which accompanies this report."

In the same report which contains the foregoing, namely, under the article entitled "The revival of religion in College," I gave an account at some length of the work of divine grace in the institution over which I preside. This account, when written, I had no expectation ever to see in print. But the Trustees ordered me to publish it, which accordingly I did. I have deliberated whether I would direct it to be published with other articles at the end of the volume containing my life, or insert it in the life itself. But as I consider it to be one of the most important occurrences

of my whole life, my opinion is, that the narrative of that event should be preserved.*

The pamphlet containing the account of the revival of religion in the College of New Jersey was sent, I know not by whom, to the editors of the Christian Observer in Great Britain.† I shall give the whole of what they say on the subject. They introduce their remarks in the following manner in their number for the month of October:

“College of New Jersey in America. We have been favoured by a respected correspondent with a copy of a report made to the Trustees of this College on the 4th of April last, by the President, Dr. Green, relative to what is called a revival of religion, which took place among the students in the winter and spring of the present year. The following is the substance of this report.” After the insertion of the substance of the report, the editors of the Christian Observer remark as follows: “Such is the substance of the President’s report. It is by no means our purpose in laying it before our readers, to hold up to the imitation of our heads of houses in this country the practice of publishing expositions of the state of religion among the young men under their care. Even if the reformation among them was as radical and extensive as it appears to have been in New Jersey, we should still more question the expediency of making a public report on the subject. We are certainly not of the number of those who deem the representation of the pious President to be either unreal or exaggerated; we can cordially

* Appendix, H.

† Vol. XIV. p. 699.

rejoice with him in the success of his pious labours, and unite in praying that the effect may prove both solid and permanent. But we greatly doubt whether the publication of such statements, however gratifying they may be to the pious mind, is likely to promote the spiritual benefit of the young men themselves." (I can truly say I was much impressed with the thought here suggested, from the beginning to the end of the revival in question. While it was yet only in progress, and I was solicitous to keep it as private as possible, I was surprised and grieved, and I will add, offended, by reading an account of it in a secular newspaper. I have already stated, that when I wrote my report to the Trustees, who certainly ought to be well informed on the subject, I had no expectation of its going further. Did I wrong in obeying their order to publish it? If not, they fell under the censure of the Christian Observer, and not the writer of the report, who was in their employment.) "Judging of the youth of North America by what we know of our own, we are on the whole disposed to deprecate such a proceeding as adverse to genuine simplicity and lowliness of mind, and calculated to foster vanity and conceit, and as pregnant with various other inconvenient effects. But while we thus object to the single point of blazoning the appearance of beginning or reviving piety in the young men of Jersey College, we feel that we cannot praise too highly, or recommend too strongly to the presidents and professors of our English Universities, the laborious and vigilant efforts which contributed to produce these remarkable results; and here we are tempted to ask, why should not the study of the Bible form a

regular part of our academical exercises? Is it not notorious, that while mathematical and classical studies are pursued with ardour in our colleges and halls, scarcely any attention is paid to sacred literature; and that men designed to enter on the ministry of the Gospel of Christ may graduate with honour at our Universities, without its being known by their superiors that they have ever looked into a Bible, or taken the slightest pains to understand its contents? We should be greatly obliged to such of our correspondents as are conversant with the details of College regulations and statutes, to point out in what manner this lamentable defect, a defect we apprehend, peculiar to our English Universities, may be supplied."

Little did I think, when inserting in the report which I made to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, the influence which the study of the Bible had had in producing the revival of religion in that institution, that the report was to go to Britain, and this feature of it to be held up as an example to the literary institutions of that country. Previously to my accession to the presidentship of the College, there had been several revivals of religion in that institution, but that of which some of the details are given in my report to the Trustees was probably more general than any other. About three or four years after the report was published, there was, under my administration, a partial revival, in which several students were made the hopeful subjects of renewing grace; of whom two or three are now ministers of the gospel in the Presbyterian Church. But in the great revival, there are a considerable number of ministers now living who received their first

impressions of religion at that period; among the rest two bishops of the Episcopal Church in this country are to be numbered; and of the two individuals, mentioned in my report, who made a profession of religion at the beginning of the revival, one is now a professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton.

The spring vacation of the College during my presidency commenced on the 11th of April and continued for four weeks. On the fourteenth of the last mentioned month, I left home for Philadelphia, and I remained there till the twenty-sixth, and then returned to Princeton. My principal object in going to the city was to get published my report relative to the revival of religion in the College. This I accordingly effected. On my return to Princeton I was variously engaged till the 17th of May, when business called me again to the city: besides this, I wanted to commune with the people of my former pastoral charge, which always took place while the General Assembly were in session; and I could leave the College in safety, as the pious youth of the late revival, formed nearly if not quite, a majority of the students of the institution. I lodged with my friend Robert Ralston, Esq., and then made the acquaintance of Dr. Payson and his son; "two excellent men, (says my diary,) the son a man of eminent piety and talents—in prayer, I think that he excels all men I have ever heard pray." On the last day of May I returned to Princeton. There was nothing in the state of the College during the remainder of the session that was otherwise than orderly; so that I made another excursion to Philadelphia, and went with Miss Mary McCulloh (to whom I was affianced in my last visit to

the city) into Bucks county, near Doylestown, for the benefit of her health. She was the daughter by his first wife, of Major John McCulloh, of Philadelphia. I stayed with my espoused wife two days and a half; then left her there, and returned to Princeton.

My diary also states that on the 26th of September, 1815, in the afternoon, the Directors being present, "we laid the corner-stone of the Theological Seminary. I introduced the service with a few remarks. Dr. Alexander then read the introduction of the plan of the Seminary; and I then made a prayer standing on the stone, which was afterwards deposited."

On the 29th of the month I left home, and went with my son James to Philadelphia, to celebrate my nuptials with my third wife. The marriage took place on the 3d of October, which was followed by an excursion of a few days to visit my relatives in the eastern part of New Jersey; after which we returned to our respective duties at Princeton.

Many, if not most of the subjects of the late revival of religion, belonged to the Senior Class of the institution, and of course took their bachelor's degree at the last commencement, and left the College; their number was more than made up by new accessions, but of a very different character, especially in point of morals and religion. I shall make several extracts from my report to the Trustees, to exhibit the state of the institution in the winter session of 1815 and 1816. From the article in my report, entitled, "The number of students," the following extracts are taken:

"The last Senior Class consisted of forty-two members, and a few students who left us in the fall and did

not return; so that of our old stock, no more than sixteen remained. But the accessions at the beginning of the session were numerous, I believe, beyond example. We admitted sixty, carrying up our number to one hundred and thirty-six in all. This rendered the College edifice a good deal crowded at one time."

Another extract under the same title stated as follows:

"The diminution of our numbers has been unusually large, twelve have left us under censure, and thirteen without censure; leaving our number at the close of the session, one hundred and eleven. I think proper to state to the Board, that a principal cause why so many have left the College at their own request, is found in the disposition of both parents and pupils to press for a higher standing in College than that to which they are really equal. The consequence is, that some injure their health by their intense application to study, with a view to overtake or keep up with their class, and thus are obliged to quit their studies altogether; and others, finding that with all their efforts they cannot keep a standing in their class, leave College to avoid the mortification of being degraded. The subject is thus stated to the Board, that the members may, as they have opportunity, dissuade parents who are about to send their children here, from asking too high a standing for them. There are but few youth who can do more than we regularly require of any class that they may enter. Study and examinations, with us, are not nominal, but real; and none but talents of the first order can do much more than keep a high standing in the class in which they may be placed."

I shall here insert the whole of the article entitled,

“Government, discipline, and moral and religious state of the institution.”

“Our winter sessions are always considered as more exposed to difficulty in maintaining good order in the College than the summer session. The confinement occasioned by the weather, the length of the nights, and other circumstances of the season, seem to generate and favour mischievous designs beyond what takes place in other portions of the year. But a cause more operative still, is the large accessions which are made to the College in autumn beyond what we usually receive in the spring. The new comers are not yet trained to the discipline of the house, and are therefore fit materials to be seduced and converted into “cats-paws” by the few ill-disposed students who have had a longer standing, and who have been restrained from mischief before, from the smallness of their numbers, and the fear of detection. It has already been stated that we had an accession of sixty students last fall; and I have reason to believe that there was a combination formed, similar to the one which took place two years before. In fact, the very same violations of law, in all their varieties, were attempted and begun. By the prompt and vigilant exertions of the faculty, however, it was very soon counteracted; and on the whole, proved a feeble and abortive effort. The leaders were detected and dismissed at once; and the remainder of the corps were gradually either dismissed, or restrained, or reformed. By waiting for the reformation of some, whom we might with justice have dismissed at once, we subjected ourselves to the inconvenience of a solitary cracker, now and then, for a considerable part of the

session, and to some other small irregularities; but except in the first effort, we have had nothing that produced any impression on the general state of the College; and the latter part of the session has been remarkably quiet and orderly. About mid-winter, there was for a fortnight a very peculiar state of things in regard to religion. Almost every member of the house, the profane as well as the pious, seemed to be held in still and solemn suspense, waiting for and expecting another revival of religion. Two individuals were very deeply affected, and a number more were slightly impressed. But here the favourable indications terminated; and in two weeks more, (with the exception of the two individuals referred to) every thing returned to its ordinary state, and has so continued till the present time. The religious exercises of the College are attended on, with the greatest exactness and decorum, by all the students, and often, apparently, with considerable interest, by a number. We have, moreover, a small but precious band of pious youth—the most of them the fruits of the late revival—who are eminently exemplary in their Christian walk. This is the account of the favourable state of the College, in regard to religion at present.

“It is proper that the Board should be informed that we judged it to be indispensable to commence prosecutions in no less than three instances against students that had been dismissed from the College for insults and injuries committed by them after their dismissal. One case, (the most flagitious of any I have witnessed) is reported to the Board on the minutes of the faculty for their ultimate decision. In another instance two dismissed students, resident in Trenton, made an expe-

dition to this place for the express purpose of exploding gunpowder in the College edifice, which they did in a manner not only to endanger the property of the corporation, but the limbs and lives of the students of the institution. They were both apprehended and bound over for trial at the court which sat at New Brunswick the last month. But although the violation of the law was palpable, and the proof direct and unequivocal, the grand jury refused to find a bill of indictment. In regard to this unsuccessful prosecution, I have only to say, that if the faculty had not commenced it, they would, in my deliberate opinion, have been chargeable with gross negligence of official duty. That justice has been refused to the institution in this concern, is, I believe, the opinion of every disinterested person to whom the circumstances of the case have been fully stated. In the other two cases to which I have referred, the cause for commencing the prosecution was the same, but the culprits escaped without being apprehended."

From Nov. 25th, 1815, to June 10th, 1816, I did not keep a daily journal. This is the largest gap in my diary that it ever suffered. In consequence of it, I am not able to state in what manner I spent the spring vacation of the College in 1816. But from some circumstances noted after I resumed my diary, I conclude I did not leave Princeton; being detained there by the sickness of my wife. The commencement of the summer session till the 10th of June is from the same cause left blank. After that my diary is regular, and it states that in the course of the remainder of the session we dismissed seven students, and suspended three.

In general the institution was in a state of good order. Nothing occurred that demands to be noticed in my life, except that this and the following session were one of the busiest periods of my life. In addition to my official duties as President of the College, I attended several meetings of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary and its building committee, and through my hands passed all the money to pay the salaries of the professors of that institution, and to indemnify the workmen employed to build its edifice, and for various other purposes, and to take and preserve receipts for the whole.

During the fall vacation of the College, after attending the Presbytery which sat at Cranberry, I took a journey to Baltimore. My wife's two brothers, resident in that city or its neighbourhood, had recently visited us, and in addition to the hope that the occasion would be favourable to the health of my wife, we had it in object to return their visit. We left home in a hired carriage with two horses, driven by my servant. Our company consisted of my wife and myself, my wife's aunt, and my sons, James and Ashbel, the latter about three years old. Our aunt and youngest child went no farther than Philadelphia, but James accompanied us to Baltimore. On the review of our journey I wrote in my diary as follows: "In this journey I have to remark, (1) On the goodness of God in saving us from all accidents; in giving us favourable weather, in rendering the journey useful to my wife, on whose account principally it was taken. (2) In enabling me to preach with almost entire freedom from all my old complaints, and to act in such a manner, I hope, as not to dis-

honour religion. (3) I was not sufficiently guarded in two instances in speaking on subjects of science. (4) I fell into a gross indecorum through haste and inattention. Thanks to God who has brought us home in safety, and preserved my dwelling and those who remained in it during my absence."

In the College session which commenced in the first week of November, 1816, there was nothing noticeable beyond the ordinary occurrences of the institution, till about the middle of the following January, 1817. On the 17th and 18th of the last named month, several crackers were fired in the College edifice; and on the 19th, being the Sabbath, a very serious riot commenced, with the manifest intention of preventing the usual religious exercises of that sacred day. This impious project was, however, defeated by a providential interposition. Dr. Miller conducted the morning service in the prayer hall of the College, and I heard the usual Bible recitation in the afternoon, and at its conclusion addressed the students of the institution particularly in reference to the riot. I transcribe from my diary the account I began to give of the horrible occurrence. I did not finish this narration.—"19th, Sabbath. Last night, or rather this morning at two o'clock, there was a very serious riot in the College. A great deal of glass was broken; an attempt was made to burn the out buildings, and the bell was rung incessantly. The doors of the College, those of the tutor's rooms, and those of the religious students were first barred. The Vice-President broke into the College through a window in the basement story, and with the assistance of the tutors quelled the riot. Dr. Miller

preached in the prayer hall a very impressive sermon from the words, "*Be ye also ready*," which was improved at the close, as a kind of funeral sermon for Dr. Dwight. The names of Dr. Strong and Dr. Backus, were also mentioned. I heard the Bible recitation as usual, and afterwards made as solemn an address as I could in regard to the riot of this morning. It seemed to make an impression; in the evening, however, there was noise in going to and returning from the refectory. The eldest tutor and myself endeavoured to detect those who made the noise, and we did detect one of the number. The faculty met in the evening.

20th. The faculty were employed, as far as they were able, (in consistency with continuing the recitations) in examining into the disorders of the College. We examined all who were supposed to be guilty. In the evening, it was agreed to write to the parents of three of the students to remove them from College.

21st. I rose early, and wrote the copy of a letter to be sent to the parents of all those whom we believed to be disaffected, and got two of the tutors to make copies of it, so as to have it ready by the time the faculty should meet. But afterwards a student came to my study, and went over the roll of the College with me, and pointed out all that were disaffected. We also found, from other sources of information, that the rioters were determined to make their grand onset this very night. We therefore determined to strike first, and accordingly we called and dismissed fourteen of them."

Then follows another gap in my diary, nearly as large as that heretofore mentioned. In truth, I was so occupied during the remainder of the session, and

through the following vacation and the first part of the summer session of the College, that not being aware of the use I am now making of my diary, I altogether neglected it.

The faculty were so conscious of their own integrity and carefulness in the management of this riotous proceeding in the institution committed to their charge, that they had no anxiety to publish any thing on the subject. But it was otherwise with the friends of the College; and indeed, the faculty, finding that there were gross misrepresentations abroad relative to a number of particulars, were not unwilling, about a month posterior to the riot, to give the full details of every material circumstance relative to this unhappy concern. The statement contained in the paper alluded to, was written entirely by myself; but was carefully examined by every member of the faculty before its publication.

On the 1st of August 1817 I resumed my diary, and thence forward it is continued as usual. I do not think that I can give the readers of my life a better account of the manner in which I spent my time till the death of my third wife, than by quoting some passages from my diary, interspersed with some remarks explanatory of the circumstances attendant on the facts stated. On the 5th of August my diary is as follows:

"I spent the greater part of the day in reading Johnson's life of Boswell, and in forming a diploma for the degree of A. M., and at last I formed one which I think will do. In the evening I had headache and was taken suddenly with giddiness, and had to go to bed without praying in the family or in secret. O to

be prepared for sudden death if it shall come in this form! But I slept well during the night.

6th. The examination of the Senior Class for their degrees began this day. I examined them on belles lettres. Four trustees were present; two of them dined with me. At three o'clock the Committee of Missions met in my study. In the evening received the diploma I had formed for the degree of A. M. I have great cause to be thankful that I have been free from the complaint in my head to day, or have had so very little of it. I gave the treasurer of the Theological Seminary this day a check for two thousand dollars.

8th. I attended the examination of the Senior Class and examined them on logic. I agreed to preach for brother Comfort next Sabbath.

9th. A. G. Fairchild called in this morning and left with me his missionary journal, and I paid him \$54.66 for his missionary services.

10th. Sabbath. One of the tutors went and preached for me at Kingston. Dr. Miller preached in the prayer hall. I was able to attend to the Bible recitation as usual. In the morning I had some engagedness in secret prayer, but was remiss in other secret exercises in the course of the day.

11th. I attended the examination of the Senior Class for degrees which was finished in the afternoon. I also attended a meeting of the Committee of Missions in the afternoon. The faculty met in the evening.

12th. Spent the day and the evening with the faculty in making out our award in regard to the

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honours of the class, and the exercises of commencement. We called the class together after evening prayers, and told them the result.

13th. Spent most of the day in preparing forms of diplomas for the degree of A. M. in our College, and nearly finished them by studying hard all day.

14th. I received a letter from a member of the last Senior Class, in which he tells me he thinks justice has not been done him in awarding the honours of the class. I brought the subject under the notice of the faculty.

15th. Governor Ridgley of Maryland, called on me in the morning, and engaged a place in the College for his son.

16th. I intended to have written a good deal of my Baccalaureate sermon for the next commencement; but business and the want of health have prevented. I spent the morning, until near 12 o'clock, in conversing with the building committee in regard to Mr. Lardner's mission, and other concerns of the Theological Seminary. The week past my religious exercises have not been remarkable nor satisfactory. O Lord, quicken me! (I was long in the habit of stating, on Saturday evening, the state of my religious exercises during the secular days of the preceding week. My present practice is to do this daily.)

17th. Sabbath. I was this day confined to my house, and for the most of the day. Dr. Alexander preached in the prayer hall, and the eldest tutor heard the Bible recitation of the afternoon. I was better in the evening, and read Milner's Church History.

18th. Read Johnson's life by Boswell, and spent a good deal of time in translating the Greek at the end of

his epitaph. Made a book for a sermon, but did little else. Rode out with my wife.

19th. Spent the morning with the building committee of the Theological Seminary. I received a letter last evening from Mr. Snowden, informing me that our funds are exhausted. I wrote a long letter to Mr. Ralston, and a short one to George Williams. Rode out with my wife. In the evening, spent some time on diplomas.

20th. Conversed with the junior tutor on professorship, and with the eldest tutor on the subject of diplomas. Wrote a little this day on my Baccalaureate sermon.

21st. This morning I waited on Mr. Richard Stockton, and had a long conversation with him about College concerns, especially about appointing officers in place of the Vice-President, who is about to leave us. Wrote my sermon. In the afternoon a Mr. Marratt came from New York with letters of introduction from Dr. Hosack, Mr. Lenox, and Governor Clinton, recommending him as professor of mathematics. He went with me to attend prayers in the College; and he also lodged with me. I preached in the evening at our religious society with some freedom.

22d. Spent the day principally in writing letters for Mr. Marratt, who is satisfied that the professorship will not do for him. Wrote a long letter to Dr. Hosack and another to Mr. Lenox. In the evening committed a sermon to memory.

23d. Spent part of the morning with Mr. Marratt. He left us a short time after breakfast. Spent a good deal of the day and evening in reviewing a sermon for

to-morrow. The week past my religious exercises have not been peculiar.

23d. Sabbath. I preached in the prayer hall from Proverbs xxviii. 13th—had headache and giddiness and got through the sermon with difficulty, but was mercifully carried through it. I heard the usual Bible recitation. (In making extracts from my diary I do not in all cases give the whole for each day, and sometimes only a single item, and I shall hereafter omit some days altogether.)

27th. Wrote four letters, one to Dr. Anderson, one to Dr. Hall, one to Mrs. Glen, and one to Mr. Lea. Wrote on my Baccalaureate sermon, and have brought it pretty well forward. In the evening received a letter from Mr. Bacon containing five dollars from Mrs. Deare, New Brunswick.

28th. Reviewed and corrected orations, wrote notices to committee on the College refectory—attended to College duties. Prepared and spoke at the religious society in the evening. Wrote more in my sermon to-day.

29th. A large company of ladies and gentlemen visited us in the evening. I have not written any thing on my sermon to day.

31st. Dr. Miller preached in the prayer hall a good discourse. I heard the usual Bible recitation of the College and had some freedom in addressing the students afterwards. Read the preface of Poole's Synopsis in the evening.

September 1st. I have spent nearly the whole of this day in reading Riley's Narrative, and have not felt

easy in my mind in so doing. My Baccalaureate sermon is not finished, and I have resolved this evening to devote my time—all that I can spare—to that sermon until it shall be completed. In the evening I attended the prayer meeting and made one of the prayers. Mr. Chester with some others of the brethren came to my study after the prayer meeting. Before the prayer meeting a man came to see me, to make a complaint against two students.

2d. Rose early and did something to my sermon, and have got a little forward to-day. Sent for Lea and two of his friends, and talked with them. I think they are not much to blame. Attended to College and family concerns. (The two students that accompanied Lea were those, I suppose, against whom a complaint was made.)

5th. The committee on the College refectory met in my study at ten o'clock in the morning, and sat until near noon, and then adjourned till two o'clock, P. M. In the meantime, I saw and conversed with Mr. Clow, the steward. I then met the committee and finished the business. I wrote the minutes of this committee until dark. Wrote diligently on my sermon in the evening. Charles Hodge and Benjamin Bache, the latter of whom is just returned from sea, came to see me to-day.

6th. Wrote diligently on my sermon, and I have brought it pretty well forward. Reviewed and corrected a piece for Mr. P——. Mr. Woodbridge called and conversed. My wife was very well for her this morning, but was taken sick in the course of the day.

I prayed with her in the evening. The week just past my religious exercises have not been peculiar. O for quickening and comforting grace.

7th. Sabbath. Brother Alexander preached an excellent sermon in the prayer hall. Several strangers attended. I performed the usual exercises of the College in the afternoon, and spoke with some freedom to my pupils. In the evening I wrote on my sermon.

8th. I made a visit, and wrote nearly the whole of an oration for T——. My wife is better.

11th. Corrected F——'s oration and wrote the introduction. Wrote on my sermon and corrected and committed a part of it. Brother Miller spoke for me at the religious society in the evening. My cow which had wandered was found. I paid five dollars for finding her.

12th. Corrected the oration of B——. Corrected and committed to memory my own sermon. Wrote a letter to Mr. Lewis of New York, and enclosed in it sixty dollars for the Bible Society and the Missionary Society. Bought oysters, peaches and cantelopes. (This last item and that about the cow, I insert to show the various uses of a diary—in dates as well as facts.)

13th. Attended to College and family concerns. In the afternoon, I attended public worship preparatory to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the week past my religious services have not been peculiar. My mind is worried with worldly concerns.

14th. Sabbath. This morning (I desire to record it with humble gratitude) I have had great freedom in secret prayer; and in renewing my covenant engage-

ments with God, and in devoting myself to him in view of the communion service of this day, I attended public worship in the church. Dr. Miller preached a good sermon. I administered the communion, and had freedom in speaking. I hope I had also some right views and feelings at the table; but they were not as steady as I could wish. In the afternoon I heard the Bible recitation, and spoke with freedom to the students. In the evening I finished the committing of my sermon to memory. (If this last article were not an act of necessity, as I hope it was, I think it was wrong.)

19th. Attended the examination of the College, and reviewed my Baccalaureate sermon. This afternoon my wife wrote a letter to her brother James, which she showed me, and it affected me much. This was a singular letter indeed. As there were no secrets between me and my wife, I asked her to show this letter to me, which I knew she had been writing. "You had better not read it," was her reply. "Why not?" said I. "Understand," she said, "that I have no objection to your reading it, on my own account, but only on yours." "If that be so," said I, "I shall read it;" and read it I did. It consisted in telling him, that from the symptoms of her complaint, she thought that she should not live to the time at which he had promised to visit her; and that as she was desirous to see him before her death, she urged him to come before the time that had been appointed. Every circumstance she mentioned took place according to her statements; but probably her elder brother, who was a physician, and who in the meantime had visited her, had told his brother James that he did not consider their sister's life to be as preca-

rious as she had imagined. The result was, as we shall see, that James came just as we had returned from depositing her corpse in the grave in the burial ground at Princeton. In her expiring moments she mentioned something about her brother, but it could not be understood.

20th. This morning I was a good deal dejected, in consequence of thinking of the state of my wife. But I found relief in prayer, and in committing her and myself to God; and in hope that he would order for my good what has already taken place, and take care of me in any event. I seemed to think and to have a kind of an impression that my wife would last as long as myself. But on this I do not rely, and desire to leave it absolutely with God, and devote myself unreservedly to him, in doing my duty.

21st. Sabbath. I preached my Baccalaureate sermon in the prayer hall; and performed the whole service without assistance. I was carried through my discourse (which I was told was an hour and a quarter in length) better than I expected; although I had a cold and spoke too fast. Dr. Beasley and some other strangers were present. In the afternoon I addressed the students of the institution.

22d. Attended the examination of the College and finished it; after which I spent my time with the faculty, in determining the distinctions of the several classes. In the evening brother Janeway came, and Mr. Lenox called and left a letter and a diploma.

23d. Dismissed all the classes of the College, and gave them their award, before breakfast. At nine o'clock the Board of Directors of the Theological Sem-

inary met, with whom I did business till noon. A large company dined with us. At three o'clock, P. M. I attended a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the College;—attended public speaking in the church in the evening.

24th. Commencement.—I attended and conducted the exercises of the day more to my satisfaction I think than on any similar occasion. Dr. Livingston was present, and dined with us afterwards. In the afternoon I attended to the duties of the Board, and in the evening a committee of five members sat in my study.

25th. Attended a meeting of the Trustees of the College till about three o'clock P. M., when the Board broke up. The faculty then met in my study to take measures about sending circular letters to the parents of the students, but we did little else beside talk.

29th. Rode out with my wife. Busy in preparing letters to send to parents of the students, and in other concerns of the College and Theological Seminary. Not well, but very busy.

October 2d—4th, both included. Was very busy during these three days and did not write daily. Had several meetings with a committee of the Seminary. Wrote a great many letters. Attended the meeting of the committee on the concerns of the College refectory. A contract was made with Mr. Bogart and Mr. Clow. During this week I have prayed for, and tried to forgive some who, I think, have acted an unfriendly part toward me and one of my friends. I fear I have talked and felt too much on this unpleasant subject. My religious exercises have not been peculiar through the

week. I have had one or two times, I think, of some considerable freedom and engagedness in prayer. I have not been well, but the Lord has mercifully carried me through a great deal of business. My wife was affected with dropsical symptoms at the beginning of the week.

5th. Sabbath. I went for the physician to see my wife before church. I attended public worship, and heard Mr. Schenck preach a good sermon. Read in private, Thompson's Harmony of the Gospels. I prayed in the evening with my wife, by ourselves.

6th—31st. Before I transcribe from my diary the manner in which I spent my time during the period indicated by the figures at the beginning of this article, I choose to say that such was the critical state of my wife's health, that I should not have left her had she not intreated me to do so. She was most devotedly attached to the Theological Seminary; having been concerned with some of her pious female associates in supporting a necessitous student in that institution. It was at her urgent instance that her brother James made to the Seminary the handsome donation which will be presently noticed. During the time between the 6th and 31st of October, I was principally employed in soliciting for the Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. I went twice to the city. In the whole, I got there in subscriptions four thousand and four hundred dollars. I was called home by a letter informing me that my wife was very ill. I hastened home and found her dangerously sick. While I was gone, my brother-in-law, James W. McCulloh, sent to my

wife a contribution to the Seminary of a thousand dollars.

November 1. Spent the day with our friends: my wife is better. The week past I have been engaged in prayer a good deal, and I hope with some earnestness, especially for my wife.

2d. Sabbath. Preached for brother Comfort, in his absence from Kingston, from the words, "A devout man," and had freedom in speaking. Returned home, and spent the evening in reading.

3d. This day Mr. Vethake, the new professor, came and brought me a letter of introduction from Dr. Romeyn. In the afternoon, he and Mr. Lindsley and myself began to examine the students who have come to join College.

8th. Engaged about family and College concerns. The week past my religious exercises have not been, I think, peculiar. I have felt some engagedness in prayer at times.

9th. Sabbath. Brother Miller preached in the prayer hall an excellent discourse. In the afternoon I heard the recitation on the Bible, and had some freedom in speaking to the students.

12th. Attended to family and College concerns. The building committee of the Theological Seminary met in my study, and we transacted some business relating to its fiscal concerns; and in the evening wrote a long letter to Mrs. Sears on the death of young Mr. Sears.

16th. Sabbath. Brother Alexander preached in the prayer hall an excellent discourse. I heard the usual

recitation of the Senior Class on Paley, and the whole College on the Bible.

19th. This day I observed as a day of fasting and prayer. Mr. Bayard called in the morning. Dr. Miller also called and conversed with Mr. Lindsley, who happened to be in my study. Dr. Alexander called and conversed and prayed with my wife.

21st. Reviewed a recitation in Blair, and heard the class recite. Paid Mr. Bogart three bills for the Seminary. Reviewed a sermon for the Sabbath. My wife not so well as common.

22d. Wrote a letter to Mr. Lenox of New York. Wrote a note to Dr. Miller to prepare to preach tomorrow, in consequence of the extreme illness of my wife.

23d. Sabbath. This morning about three o'clock, I was called out of my bed to witness the closing scene of the life of my dear and invaluable wife. She was perfectly in her senses. I knew not but what it might be one of those fainty turns of which she had so many, that would pass by without terminating her life, although I expected on the whole that she was dying. I reminded her that in any event, I trusted she was safe. She replied immediately, "Yes, yes." I asked her if her confidence was fixed on her Saviour? To this she assented by bowing her head, for it was hard for her to speak. I then prayed with her as a dying person, and endeavoured fervently to commend her soul to God her Saviour, and to implore his presence with her in this trying hour. The physician had been sent for, as I thought it right to make use of all means to prolong her continuance with us. Ether had been given her

before he came, but without any beneficial effect. She was no longer able to expectorate the phlegm which constantly accumulated. This, however, had not been the case for more than about an hour; till that period she had expectorated freely. When the doctor came he felt her pulse, but ordered nothing. She was manifestly to him in the article of death. She still, however, for a short time seemed sensible, and requested several changes of attitude, which were accordingly made. She seemed then to wander. She tried also, at this time, to say something about her brother, which was not distinctly heard. She then remained perfectly still, and apparently easy; and so remained, till without a struggle or a groan, or the movement of a muscle or a feature, she seemed literally to fall asleep, at six o'clock in the morning. A little before she expired, I kissed and bade her farewell till we should meet in a better world, where, if I was so happy as to arrive, I had no doubt that I should meet her. I of course, remained in the house all day. I read Scott's Bible and commentaries on the death and future state of Lazarus. I also read some in the Christian Observer. I tried to sleep a little, and did just forget myself; but the association of ideas, in regard to my departed wife, would not permit me to sleep. Yet on the whole I spent the day in more tranquillity than I could have expected; blessed be God for his support. I hope I was enabled to pray and pour out my soul to God with considerable freedom and enlargement, through the day. I prayed earnestly for my dear wife when she was in the article of death, and often lifted up my soul to God through the day. I prayed with my family as usual.

24th. I desire to thank God that I had refreshing rest the last night, and that I have spent this day far more comfortably than I could have expected. I visited the corpse of my dear wife in the course of the day.

25th. I had some rest the last night, but not so good as the night before. Assisted in making arrangements for the funeral, which took place at two o'clock. Dr. Alexander preached an excellent discourse in the church where we attended; but the corpse was not carried there. His text was, "To die is gain." I heard attentively, and was not I think unduly affected. We then followed the corpse to the grave, without the emotion as to myself which I had feared. In the evening, brother James McCulloh came to see us, and did not know of his sister's death till he heard it from us. He was much affected by the information. (Thus the statement of my wife in her letter to him was verified.)

26th. I spent the day in the house, and the most of it with my brother, James McCulloh. I had a long talk with him in my study. He was much affected, but bears his affliction well. I gave Mr. Lindsley a hundred dollars to give to the poor. (My wife had a great aversion to a showy funeral. She was accordingly buried agreeably to her wishes, and I made this donation in place of an expensive interment.)

27th. Spent the most of this day with my brother James and family. Reviewed a sermon for the evening. Attended to family and College concerns a good deal. In the evening I attended the religious society, and

spoke with great freedom and enlargement. Thanks to God who carried me through the services. O, it is good to trust him; let me never fail to do it.

28th. This day at two o'clock brother James McCulloh left us, and went on his way home. I reviewed and heard a recitation on Blair's Lectures, and Mr. and Mrs. Richard Stockton and Dr. Smith called and sat a little while with us this morning.

29th. Reviewed a sermon for to-morrow. Walked out and looked at the Seminary. Corrected a piece of composition for Prevost. Wrote a letter to Dr. Nott in favour of young Stewart, and another to Dr. Inglis, who wrote to me on the subject. The week past I have great cause to be thankful to God for his great goodness in upholding me in the midst of my afflictions. I have suffered little comparatively. I hoped in God for support, and have found it as yet beyond all my hopes. O it is good to trust in him at all times. He can help far beyond all our calculations. This day I believe I did not pray at noon. O may God quicken me in the divine life.

30th. Sabbath. I preached in the morning with some freedom from 119th Psalm, 6th verse. In the afternoon I attended the usual recitations on Paley and the Bible, and had some freedom in speaking to my pupils. In the evening I attended worship in the church, and heard Mr. Biggs preach a good discourse. After service I read a sermon of my own before praying with my family.

December 1. Had conversation with Jacob and James about family arrangements; and endeavoured to com-

mit them to God in prayer. In the evening attended prayer meeting and conducted the exercises, and made one of the prayers.

3d. Busily employed in family and College concerns. Mr. Avery, an old minister from New England, whom I remember to have seen more than thirty-five years ago, called and sat a good while with me. Mr. Bassett of Virginia, brought his son here, whom we examined.

4th. Busily employed in correcting orations, and in other College and family duties. This morning I had a sweet view of the passage of holy Scripture contained in John xvii. 20; and on this passage I spoke in the religious society in the evening with some freedom.

5th. Wrote some in transcribing a sermon for brother James McCulloh, which he heard me deliver.

6th. I read the President's speech twice over. I read also Dr. Wharton's Controversy with Bishop Carroll. The week past my religious exercises have been more comfortable and satisfactory than usual. O, to be humbly thankful to God.

7th. Brother Alexander preached in the prayer hall a good discourse. I attended the usual recitations in the afternoon. In the evening I finished the transcription of my sermon for brother James, and read a good deal in Wharton's Controversy with Bishop Carroll.

10th. Walked up to the Seminary. Attended the funeral of Miss Beatty, and returned to the house afterwards. In the evening I wrote four letters and read a good deal in Wharton. Heard Ashbel his lessons.

11th. Visited and prayed with the mourning family of Colonel Beatty. Attended to College concerns. In the evening spoke at the religious society. Heard Ashbel his lessons.

12th. Heard Ashbel his prayers. (Alas! how I do miss my departed wife, who used to hear this child his lessons and prayers.) Reviewed part of a recitation, but did not hear it. Read Wharton. Mr. Bassett of Virginia, called and sat with me some time. Attended the speaking of the Senior Class in the evening. General Cummins called and sat with me for some time.

13th. The faculty met in the morning and dismissed Cummins. Read Wharton and finished him. Attended church preparatory to communion. Had a sweet season of secret prayer in the beginning of the evening. The week past my religious exercises have been somewhat more satisfactory than at some other times.

14th. Sabbath. Attended worship in the church, it being communion Sabbath. I hope I had some right views and exercises at the table of the Lord; and made an address to the communicants at the close of the service. In the afternoon, attended a recitation of the students on the Bible; or rather, I went to attend it, but the smoke of the room prevented. I made a short address, and prayed with my pupils. In the evening, I finished the third volume of Milner's Church History."

I have now given a sufficient specimen of my diary in its details. I shall, through the remainder of the winter session of 1818, and the subsequent vacation,

select only such articles under each day as contains something noticeable in exhibiting the course of my life, and shall omit some days altogether.

"*December* 15th. I received by mail one thousand dollars from Mr. Snowden, for the Seminary.

16th. Betsy Stockton, (the coloured girl mentioned in chap. xviii.,) returned to Princeton, and came to live with me.

17th. I went up to the Theological Seminary and took a survey of the ground which I am thinking to purchase. In the evening I wrote a letter to Dr. Janeway, enclosing eight dollars given me by Betsy to send to him.

20th. The week past my religious exercises have been somewhat more engaged and comfortable. But this day I neglected my mid-day prayer till late. O to be engaged in the service of my God.

23d. Took my daily walk, and went with Dr. Miller and viewed a site for a professor's house and well.

25th. Made preparation and spoke at the religious society with considerable freedom.

27th. Spent this day principally in preparing a sermon for to-morrow. The week past my religious exercises have been quite comfortable. But I am not so heavenly-minded as I ought to be.

28th. Preached in the prayer hall in the morning, No. 99, and attended the usual recitation. In the evening read Milner's history.

29th. Wrote some on an article for the Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Got Dr. Miller to preach for me on Thursday.

1818—*January* 1st. Dr. Miller preached an excel-

lent discourse in the prayer hall. In the evening, I spoke with some freedom in the religious society.

3d. The week past my religious exercises have not been remarkable. I hope my afflictions are in some degree sanctified to me.

5th. Wrote on the article "New Jersey," for the Edinburgh Encyclopædia.

6th. Finished the article "New Jersey," and sent it with a letter to Parker, the bookseller, in Philadelphia.

19th. Began the examination of the College, which I attended a considerable part of the day.

24th. The week past I have not neglected my religious exercises, and have had about as much engagedness in them as usual.

25th. Dr. Alexander preached a good discourse in the prayer hall, and I heard the usual Bible recitation in the afternoon; and I think there was more attention in the students than common to the address 'I delivered after the recitations.

26th. Attended the examination, and finished it. I was engaged with the faculty in deciding on the examination of the classes the remainder of the day.

28th. Wrote a long letter to Mr. Ralston, and gave a check for a thousand dollars on Mr. Snowden for the Seminary.

29th. This morning, blessed be God, I had in secret prayer a sweet season of drawing near to God, I humbly hope. I think I was enabled to trust myself entirely into the hands of Christ, and take him for my all and all. I hope I longed after holiness, and deliverance from all pollution, and that I might behold the glory of God; and I hope I had a glimpse of that glory.

February 1st. Sabbath. Brother Miller preached in the prayer hall. I heard the Bible recitation in the afternoon, and in the evening read largely in Calvin's Institutes.

2d. Spent the morning in settling accounts with Drs. Miller and Alexander, and Mr. Bogart. Wrote a long letter to Judge Wallace. Attended the prayer meeting in the evening, and made the first prayer.

18th. Read the controversy between Mercer and Mason. Had a long conversation with Mr. Lindsley in regard to a professorship, and in regard to my son Jacob as a candidate for it. After Mr. Lindsley left me, I spent a little time in prayer that God would order and direct in regard to this important concern. In the afternoon, Dr. Miller called and conversed on the same subject.

19th. I called on Mr. Richard Stockton, and conversed with him at considerable length on the subject of a new professorship, and the appointment of tutors for the College. Read Hume, and afterwards made preparation and spoke at religious society in the evening. Mr. Holley of Boston, was there.

20th. Mr. Holley is a Unitarian minister; he called and sat a long time with me.

March 1st. Sabbath. Preached in the prayer hall from Proverbs iv. 5.—“With all thy gettings get understanding.” Mr. Davenport was present. In preaching I had considerable freedom; in the afternoon heard the Bible recitation, and in the evening read Calvin's Institutes.

2d. Spent the morning in waiting for the building

committee of the Seminary. No one came but Dr. Vancleve, who staid an hour.

3d. Dr. Samuel McCulloh and his son Samuel called on us a few minutes, on their way to New York to take passage to England. Mr. Davenport called and sat with me some time, with whom I had a good deal of conversation. In the evening I read a part of the life of Dr. Buchanan and found it very interesting. I finished the reading of this life on the 5th inst.

7th. This morning I trust it pleased God to enlarge my heart sweetly in my secret exercises of devotion, and I think on one other occasion during this week. I hope the reading of the life of Buchanan has done me good.

10th. Met the building committee of the Seminary and the professors in my study and did business with them.

13th. Mr. Bogart called in the morning and paid me a thousand dollars which he got for a check at Trenton.

21st. I was employed this morning in committing to memory my sermon for to-morrow. I read the Cyclopædia on the subject of Colleges and Universities. The week past I hope the state of my mind in regard to religion has on the whole been more desirable than at some other times. I would fain hope that I am a little more spiritual than I was for a good while preceding this winter. I am yet low in religion and need much quickening grace.

22d. Sabbath. I was this morning a good deal indisposed, and was fearful that I should be hardly able to preach; but had freedom to commit myself to God

in prayer, and was most mercifully helped though my discourse. I preached with freedom and tenderness notwithstanding my infirmities. My text was "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." In the evening read Calvin on Faith, with pleasure and I hope with edification also.

26th. Mr. Pintard died last evening at nine o'clock, and this day I visited, conversed and prayed with the mourning family of Mr. Bayard. I then called on Mr. Richard Stockton, to see if he would sell me some of the land adjoining the Seminary. I attended the religious society in the evening, and spoke with some enlargement.

27th. I did not go out of the house this day on account of a pain in my face. I read a good deal however in the Cyclopædia and Chalmers' sermons.

28th. Still confined to the house by a pain in my face; but at intervals of pain read diligently. I read Dwight's Life and one of his sermons. I looked over my old diary. The week past my religious exercises have not been very peculiar. I would hope, but am almost afraid to hope, that I am gaining a little in religion.

29th. Sabbath. Had a sick turn in the night, but felt so much better in the morning, that I resolved to go to church; and I rejoice that I did go, for it has been a pleasant, and I hope profitable day in some measure to me. I heard with great pleasure an excellent sermon from Dr. Alexander, and had some comfort at the communion table. In the evening I read Dwight and the Christian Observer.

April 4th. The faculty attended the examination of

the classes and finished them. Sat with the faculty until very late, making out our awards in regard to the examinations. The week past I have been called to think of death, and to inquire whether I was prepared for it. O let me not leave it in any uncertainty. I hope my pain and sickness have done me some good.

6th. Spent the morning with the faculty in preparing our awards for the examination. At twelve o'clock went and delivered the awards, and dismissed all the classes of the College for the spring vacation. Spent the afternoon and evening in preparing letters to the parents of the students.

7th. Finished letters to the parents of students.

14th and 15th. Attended meeting of the Board of Trustees.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE YEAR 1818 TO 1822.

I WAS a commissioner this year to the General Assembly from the Presbytery of New Brunswick. Accordingly on the 20th May I left home, and arrived in Philadelphia just in time to hear the opening sermon of the Assembly. In this Assembly I took a very active part in all the business that came before that body. Among other things I penned the minute on the subject of slavery, which is yet often referred to by those who are hostile to African slavery. I also attended the Corporation of the Widows' Fund as their Secretary, the Board of Trustees of the General Assembly, and the Board of Missions; for of both of these Boards I was a member. I likewise had the privilege of attending the communion of the church of which I had been pastor, but did not preach. I dined with the families of many of my old parishioners, and attended the wedding of my friend Ralston's second daughter, Rebecca, to Mr. Chester.

On the 4th of June I returned to Princeton with my sister-in-law, Mrs. Lapsley, and her children.

The heat of the summer of 1818 was unusually great, and to me most oppressive. On the 11th of July, Fahrenheit's thermometer at my study was 94°, and at the refectory 96°. On the next day, in the entry of my house, it was 95° or 96°; and at the refectory, under

the shade of a tree, it was 99°. On the 10th of this month, my diary states : "This morning I had a return of my old complaints of a melancholy kind. But I trust I found special relief in prayer, for which I desire to thank God.

July 6th. Birth-day. What an eventful year have I past! What a life—checkered with deaths, with mercies, with afflictions, and with sins! O to live better! O to be prepared for what is before me this year! O to be prepared for death and eternity! I hope I have had some engagedness in secret prayer.

August 10th. The faculty began the examination of the Senior Class for degrees. Dr. Miller made a communication to me in regard to the state of the College which alarmed and affected me much.

15th. This morning we suspended one student, and three others were lectured before the faculty. This week past I have been oppressed in mind, and very anxious about the College. I have earnestly sought direction of God in prayer, and trust I have found both direction and relief. I think I have been able to look to and trust in God, and hope he has helped me. But the College is in a bad state, and we have, I fear, much unpleasant work before us.

16th. Sabbath. I preached in the prayer hall from the words, "Compel them to come in," and had some freedom in speaking.

20th. This day I have set apart as a day of special prayer with some fasting; and I wrote down the subjects of my addresses to the throne of grace in the following particulars: '(1) To give thanks to God for his great and undeserved goodness to me in time past.

(2) Deeply to abase myself before him for my unthankfulness, for my carnality, and for my want of spiritual mindedness. (3) To fly to Christ for pardon, grace, and sanctification. (4) To pray earnestly that God would direct and support me in duty, and especially in regard to the College, and keep me from all ill temper and every improper action. (5) To pray that God would order things mercifully and favourably for the College, and so influence all who have any concern in the government and instruction of it, that it may become a rich and lasting blessing. (6) To pray particularly for a revival of religion in the College. (7) To pray that God would order the concern of my son Jacob, who is thinking of a professorship in the College, in such a manner as shall be for God's glory and the good of the institution and of my son.' I hope I had some considerable enlargement and freedom in spirit going over each of these particulars in prayer, and that this has been a good day to my soul. Made preparation, and in the evening spoke at the religious society.

22d. Corrected and sent my Latin letter to Mr. Hooper. The week past I hope I have had some engagedness in prayer. I have been engaged in prayer specially for the College, and for myself in regard to my duties toward it. Conversed with one of the students in private.

September 4th. Wrote on my report till near twelve o'clock, and then went in my gig with my little son to Trenton, and put my report in the hands of Sherman the printer. Dined with Judge Kirkpatrick.

14th. Committed to memory my Baccalaureate ser-

mon in the morning and evening. Reviewed my report from the printer, and sent a copy to each one of the Trustees. (This report related, if I recollect right, to the establishment of a scholarship and professorships in the College, which I had much at heart, but which has never gone into operation—at least so far as scholarships are concerned.)

27th. Preached in the prayer hall my Baccalaureate sermon to the Senior Class, who are candidates for degrees; the other students being present. I was mercifully assisted through the long services, and I hope I had some sense of gratitude to God for helping me beyond my hopes. In the evening I attended in the church and heard a sermon from Dr. Romeyn.

28th. Attended the examination of the College, which was finished this day. In the afternoon the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary met, which I attended.

30th. Commencement.—I desire to be humbly thankful to God that I have been carried through the duties of this day beyond my expectations, and more to my satisfaction than on any other similar occasion. The exercises were well performed by the candidates for degrees. I dined with the Trustees in the refectory, and attended a meeting of the Board in the afternoon.

October 1st. I attended again the meeting of the Board of Trustees. My son Jacob was appointed professor of chemistry and experimental philosophy. I hope this will be a blessing to him, as I have looked to God to order this matter for his glory, and for the good of the College and of my son. The Board of Trustees adjourned before dinner."

I shall tell the manner in which I spent the vacation ensuing the summer session of 1818, without quoting my diary, but guided by it. I attended the Presbytery, which sat at Trenton, at the opening of which Mr. Lindsley preached a sermon, which my diary characterises as "remarkable." On returning to Princeton, Dr. Alexander and myself supplied the pulpit of Mr. Schenck, the pastor of the church, one Sabbath. He was very sick at the time; and died on the 17th of the month. After attending a committee of the Theological Seminary, I went in my gig to the place of my nativity. I preached there twice; went thence to Newark, and lodged with Dr. Richards; and on the following day went with him, and other brethren, to attend the Synod, which sat in the city of New York. I lodged with Dr. Rodgers, and was chosen Moderator of the Synod. The Synod sat three days, and of course I attended daily; and endeavoured to conduct the business so as to save time. On the adjournment of the Synod I returned through Newark, Bridgetown, and New Brunswick, to my home in Princeton. After staying there two days, on one of which I visited, conversed, and prayed with Mrs. Schenck, and on the other, being the Sabbath, supplying in the morning the church rendered vacant by the death of its pastor, I went on the 25th of the month to Philadelphia. There I stayed till the 3d of November. I had a good deal of secular business to attend to in the city, both for my son James and for myself. I also preached on the Sabbath to the people of my former pastoral charge, and on the same day for Dr. Neill, then the pastor of the sixth Presbyterian Church of Philadel-

phia. I called on many of my old friends in the city, and received their hospitality.

Among a variety of domestic occurrences that took place before the commencement of the winter session of 1818 and 1819, the most noticeable were, that I was chosen chairman of a congregational meeting held in the church of Princeton, preached in the vacant pulpit one Sabbath, and was concerned in the administration of the estate of the lately deceased pastor. On the 25th of November I paid Richard Stockton, Esq. two hundred dollars for two acres of his land adjoining the lot on which the edifice of the Theological Seminary stands, and made a donation of this land to that institution.

I shall not give so much in detail hereafter as I have done heretofore, an account of the order of the institution. So far as the students are concerned in general, the order of the College was good during the session we now contemplate, although we dismissed a considerable number of the students; and perhaps it owed its healthful state to that circumstance. At one time I had some sad forebodings, but they soon passed over. My own health was not firm; I had frequent indispositions, but continued to preach and attend the various other concerns of my station as usual. The noted Joseph Lancaster, with his wife, paid a visit to the College. On my invitation they lodged with me. I favoured his object so far as to grant him the largest of our recitation rooms. But he delivered only one lecture, and departed rather abruptly. In concert with the professors of the Seminary and College, we formed an Education

society; not only for pious pupils, but for those not pious, if moral and talented. But the most noticeable thing of the session we now consider, was the attempt that was made to induce the Legislature of the state of New Jersey to patronize the College. I draughted a memorial, and went with it in company with several of the Trustees to Trenton, where the Legislature were sitting. The Trustees went home, and left me at Trenton. After making provision for getting the memorial before the Legislature, and conversing with some of the members, I also returned, and with very little hope of success. But after writing to several individuals who were supposed to have influence with the members of the Legislature, I went again to Trenton, resolving to do all in my power to obtain patronage for the College. In this second visit I spent several days in visiting every influential individual of both houses of the Legislature, attended their sittings, dined with the Governor, and made statements favourable to the College at meetings of the members. In conversation, those to whom I addressed myself seemed pleased, and some promised to favour our object; so that I returned home from my second visit with good hopes of success. But after I and my friends were disappointed, I thought I had reason to conclude, that most of those who voted in our favour would not have done so if they had not been sure that there was a majority against us. The ground of this opinion may be stated thus:—when in the revolutionary war of our country, the College edifice had suffered greatly from being a barrack, alternately for each of the contending armies, the Legislature of the State, through the influence of Dr. Witherspoon, had

voted a sum of money, (I think it was eighteen hundred pounds,) strictly appropriated by law to repair the College edifice, (and it was inadequate to the purpose.) Such was the state of the popular mind in New Jersey; that the members who had voted to repair the College remained at home at the next election. Such at least was the current report, and which was fully believed. The members of the Legislature, from a desire to retain their place, refused to patronize the College. Nor has it ever received any patronage (except what has been mentioned,) from the Legislature of the State, although it brings into the State annually some thousands of dollars.

In the vacation that followed the session here reviewed, I preached once in the church at Princeton, and was engaged with Mr. Lindsley for two days in preparing a new edition of the College laws. I then attended the Presbytery at Lawrenceville and preached the opening sermon. The Presbytery gave me again a commission to attend the General Assembly of our Church.

The summer session of the College of the year 1819 commenced on the 13th of May. There was a considerable accession of students to the Institution this spring. Nothing occurred in the College beside what is usual till the closing part of the session. I was very busily employed in writing my two sermons for the Senior Class who were to take their bachelor's degree. I was very anxious about the state of the College; and studied hard both in comparing my sermons and in reviewing and correcting the commencement exercises of those who were to take their degrees. I tried, and I

hope with success, to commit myself and all my concerns to God and to trust in him. Blessed be God for helping me. I think I was earnest in prayer through the past week. (It should be known that at this time I was in a very low state of health, and grievously affected with nervous and melancholic complaints.)

19th. This day we had communion in the church in town. I had some freedom and sensibility in my previous and preparatory exercises, but not as much feeling at the communion table as I have sometimes had. I served the table entirely by myself, and I believe this helped to mar my own devotions. I was uncomfortable in the review of the communion service.

20th—25th. During this week I was employed much in the same way as the last. I finished my sermons either at the close of last week or the beginning of this, and laboured diligently to commit them to memory. I studied hard, and was, I hope, engaged in seeking help of God for the present, and imploring it for my coming duties. Dr. Janeway and Dr. Neill came here on Friday to attend the meeting of the Directors of the Theological Seminary. I had a good deal of conversation with them, and read them my two Baccalaureate sermons to be delivered the next Sabbath. After a good deal of anxiety about the exercises of the Sabbath and commencement, my mind became tranquil on Saturday. God has certainly answered my poor prayers; and blessed be his holy name. I attended and examined the class in the Bible.

26th. Sabbath. I preached in the church my two sermons to the Senior Class. I had no difficulty or embarrassment in either of the services. In the after

noon Dr. Miller made for me the first prayer, and I had more freedom and strength of voice than in the morning. Thus God has in a most merciful manner heard my poor prayers, and granted me assistance beyond all my hopes. Dr. Janeway preached in the evening.

27th. I met the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary in the morning.

28th. The Trustees met at three o'clock. Had a large company of them to dine with me. This day the whole College was dismissed for the vacation.

29th. Commencement day.—Blessed be God who has carried me through the duties of the day without any serious difficulty. Did business with the Board of Trustees in the afternoon.

30th. The Board of Trustees finished their business before dinner.

October 1st. I am much fatigued with the duties of the past week, yet I feel wonderfully well, considering the state of my health. Did business with the faculty.

2d. Rode out in the morning for exercise. Met Mr. Bayard and Mr. Allen, the late President of the Dartmouth University, and I spoke with them in the street. In the evening took tea with Mr. Bayard; and had a long conversation with Dr. Boudinot and Dr. Miller in regard to the College. The week past I am sensible that God has helped me, and that I am under great obligations to be very thankful. But I have not as much sensibility as I ought to have. O for more!

3d. Sabbath. Heard Mr. Allen preach all day; he preached well. In the evening I read and finished the Annual Report of the London Missionary Society.

4th. Read a little in the morning. Dr. Alexander and Mr. Allen dined with me."

From this time during the two years which elapsed before I resigned the presidentship of the College, there was nothing more noticeable than common among the students of the College, till the month of February 1822. Then, on the faculty refusing to give the College a holiday, a written memorial numerously signed was presented, which my diary states "it was impossible to consider in any other light than as an insult." I shall not give in detail the proceedings on this occasion. The result was, that all who had signed the offensive memorial were obliged to disavow their principles before the faculty.

At the spring meeting of the Board of Trustees, they decided to discontinue the professorship which my son held in the institution. To this I was opposed; and I told them respectfully but plainly, that if there was any objection to my son, to set him aside at once, but not to destroy the professorship which he held, for that in my deliberate judgment such a proceeding would inflict an essential injury on the College. It could not prosper unless the elements of chemistry, now become an important and favoured science, should be taught as a part of our system of education, and unless experiments should be made in illustration of the several parts of natural philosophy. But my remonstrances were in vain, and the Board broke up without being influenced by my opinions.

After the adjournment of the Board, when I came to

reflect on my situation, it appeared to me inexpedient that I should remain in a situation which would make me responsible for the prosperity of the College, when my opinions as to the course to be pursued were overruled by an authority which I could not and ought not to resist. These are "the some other considerations not necessary to be specified" to which I alluded in my letter to the Board of Trustees when I resigned the presidentship of the College. I therefore thought seriously of resigning my office, yet I did not do it hastily. I solicited some confidential friends to come together for prayer and conference, to give me their judgment as to the matter of my duty. To these friends I proposed two questions. (1.) On the supposition that I am disposed to resign my office, is it consistent with my duty to do so? (2.) If they thought it was consistent with my duty to resign, whether I ought or ought not to make known my intention to the Trustees or to defer this communication till their next meeting? The result was, that my brethren thought that if I was disposed to resign, it was consistent with my duty to do so, and that it was not necessary or expedient to apprise the Board of my intention till their meeting previously to the next commencement. I concealed my intention to resign my office from the students of the institution, but did every thing as regards their instruction and government just as if I had resolved to retain the presidentship to the end of life. The Board of Trustees also, excepting those I had consulted with, were not acquainted with my purpose. After presiding at com-

mencement and conferring the degrees, I delivered to Governor Williamson, the President of the Board of Trustees, my resignation.

The following is the letter containing my resignation of the presidentship of the College.

To the Board of Trustees of the College of New Jersey:

GENTLEMEN—My age and infirmities, with some other considerations not necessary to be specified, admonish me to retire from the arduous and responsible office of President of this College. That office therefore I do hereby resign, conscious of having endeavoured for ten years past to discharge its duties with fidelity, and often with anxieties and exertions which I ought never to recollect without lively gratitude to God that he sustained me under them. In bidding adieu to the College, it affords me much satisfaction that I do not leave it in an unprosperous state; as is fully evident, I apprehend, from the state of its buildings, its literary apparatus, its funds, its course of study, its number of pupils, its reputation among sister institutions, and the public at large. That it may prosper yet more and more, that the design of its pious founders may ever be sacredly regarded, that a gracious God may direct all your counsels and bless all your measures for the good of the important institution committed to your care, and that you may at last receive the reward of good and faithful servants, is, and shall be, the earnest prayer of,

Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

ASHBEL GREEN.

Nassau Hall, Sept. 27, 1822.

The above letter is dated one day after the date of its answer; of course the Trustees or myself must have been in error as to the day of the month.

The answer to the foregoing letter was as follows.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

The Board of Trustees received your letter with unfeigned regret. Had any reasons from its tenor for hope of success been left, they would have endeavoured to retain your services in a station which you have occupied so long with personal respectability and benefit to the institution. In accepting your resignation they cannot withhold the expression of their highest respect for your ministerial character, your general influence with the Church of God, your uniform and unwearied exertions to promote the best interests of the students under your care, both for time and eternity.

Under your auspices the College has not only been extricated from its financial difficulties, but it has secured a permanent source of increasing income; whilst it has sent forth annually a number of students, not exceeded in former times, calculated to give stability to its reputation, and a pledge for the continuance and growth of its usefulness in church and state.

We tender you our unanimous thanks for your zeal, fidelity, and wisdom in the administration of its concerns, and our ardent prayers for your happiness and comfort in the decline of life.

With these assurances of our feelings and our wishes, we remain your affectionate friends.

By order of the Board of Trustees of the College of
New Jersey,

ISAAC H. WILLIAMSON, *President.*

College of New Jersey, September 26, 1822.

On reviewing the whole period of my presidentship, I find there are some facts and occurrences which I have not noticed, and yet a number of them are not less noticeable than those I have mentioned. These I shall now give without much detail.

The behaviour of the students from the time of the spring meeting of the Trustees in 1822, till the period of my resignation, was most exemplary. A copy of my Baccalaureate sermon, the last that I delivered, was requested by them and was printed at their expense. For a considerable time I met the pious students of the institution weekly, to encourage them to pray, and to pray with them, for a revival of religion in the College. There was an agreement with the professors and pupils of the Seminary to pray daily at eight o'clock in the evening, not only for such a revival with us, but for a similar one in all the Colleges of our country. I was also in the habit of observing one day in every month as a day of special prayer, sometimes with fasting, both with reference to my own spiritual necessities and for those of my pupils. During the last two or three years of my presidentship, my religious exercises were in a very desirable state. I had ill health, and inward conflicts, temptations and trials; but these were more than counterbalanced by seasons often occurring of divine consolations, and sometimes with the assurance of hope.

In the last three years of my presidential life there was a period in which my health was so imperfect, that in North Carolina it was reported that I was dead. In the mean time I took bodily exercise daily and systematically by walking or riding. I also went on regularly with all my College duties, except preaching a regular sermon in the prayer hall in the morning of the Sabbath; that service was commonly performed by the professors of the Seminary, and sometimes by the Vice-President, Mr. Lindsley.

Beside the general revival which I have heretofore mentioned, there were at different periods under my presidentship, but chiefly in the last two or three years of it, a number of conversions of those who were without religion when they entered College. Sometimes my expectations were in a measure sanguine that we were to be favoured with another revival of the whole College. Besides the pious youth who were educated on the funds of the institution, we had another society established for the education of young men of talents and good morals, though not practically pious. In concert with the Seminary we also established a missionary society. In this connection I may mention, that Mr. Ward, the missionary of the Baptist Board in India, solicited contributions for the loss sustained by that Board, and was very successful, the students contributing very liberally. He preached in the church, and lodged with me.

The first missionaries which were sent out by the American Board to evangelize the Indians of our own country, passed through Princeton during my presi-

dentship, and produced great excitement among the inhabitants of the village. I had a number of missionaries to dine with me.

The congregation of Princeton, knowing that I had resigned my office and that I was about to leave the village, addressed to me through their Trustees the following letter.

PRINCETON, Sept. 28, 1822.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—The Trustees of the Presbyterian Congregation in the borough of Princeton, having heard with regret that you are about to leave our village, beg leave to express their feelings to you on this occasion.

Upon your first removal to Princeton you united yourself to this congregation; and after the destruction of their church edifice by fire, you contributed liberally to its re-building, and enabled its members, by your experience and counsels, so to arrange its concerns as to insure its subsequent welfare and respectability; for these services, dear Sir, we beg you to accept our unfeigned gratitude.

Never while life is spared can the present members of this congregation forget those solemn exhortations which you have addressed to them on many occasions, but especially at the sacramental table; nor those impressive weekly lectures, which, although intended chiefly for your pupils, you have permitted the inhabitants of this borough to attend; whatever may be the state or condition which Providence may hereafter allot you, be assured you will be followed by our affectionate gratitude and benedictions. We shall en-

deavour to recollect and profit by the many excellent instructions you have given us, and shall often pray for your health and welfare in life; and that when your trials below are finished, you may depart in all the triumph of Christian hope and be received to the enjoyment of a happiness without measure and without end.

With much respect and esteem, Rev. and dear Sir, we are your obedient and humble servants in behalf of the congregation,

E. BEATTY, *Pres't Board of Trustees.*

JAMES MOORE,

RICHARD STOCKTON,

SAMUEL BAYARD,

JOHN VANCLEVE,

ROBERT VOORHEES,

EBENEZER STOCKTON, *Trustees.*

The Rev. Dr. A. Green.

To this letter the following answer was returned.

To the Trustees of the Presbyterian Congregation in the Borough
of Princeton:

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN:—Your address to me, under date of the 28th ult. which was put into my hands to-day, I receive with great sensibility. I desire to be humbly thankful to God that he has enabled me, in addition to my arduous official duties, to perform those imperfect ministerial services for the people you represent which you acknowledge—and acknowledge in a manner so kind and obliging, as to be in itself more than a compensation for all I have done.

That the sacred truths which I have laboured to inculcate in this place may be made productive, under the divine blessing, of some fruit to the glory of God, and the salvation of those to whom they were delivered; that the ordinances of the precious gospel of Christ, which you so richly enjoy, may be long continued to you, and be abundantly blessed to the eternal benefit of yourselves and your dear offspring; and that, although my ministrations among you should now entirely cease, we may mutually so live that we may meet hereafter and rejoice together in the heavenly kingdom and immediate presence of our common and adored Saviour—such, Christian brethren, is the earnest prayer of your friend and servant in the gospel of Christ,

ASHBEL GREEN.

Princeton, October 10th, 1822.

Shortly after the commencement of the winter session of the College at Princeton, in 1822, and after my removal to Philadelphia, I was greatly surprised at receiving the following letter.

REVEREND AND RESPECTED SIR :

The necessity which has caused you to retire from the presidentship of this institution must be deeply regretted by all the friends of literature and science, and especially by those over whose interest you watched, and whose future destiny was in a manner intrusted to your care. In whatever path of life you choose to tread, you receive the tribute of admiration due to the most exalted talents and unaffected piety. On this occasion the warmth of our feelings will not permit us

to refrain from expressing the deep sense of our loss in so valued a preceptor, so esteemed a friend. We had fondly hoped to pass the remainder of our collegiate course under the guidance of one so eminently qualified to instil into the youthful mind the principles of virtue and of science, and to be ushered into the busy scenes of life under your auspices. Your retirement has rendered all these hopes vain; but the remembrance of your parental counsels, and lessons of wisdom, shall never fade from our memories.

Your days have been full of honour and of usefulness; may the remainder of your life be crowned with happiness and tranquillity, until you shall be gathered to your fathers in the hope of a joyful resurrection.

WILLIAM R. ABBOT,

JAMES EWING, JR.

HENRY MCILVAINE,

DANIEL WEISSEL, JR.

NICHOLAS A. WILSON,

Committee in behalf of the College.

My answer to the foregoing letter.

To the Students of the College of New Jersey addressing the undersigned by their Committee, consisting of William R. Abbott, James Ewing, Jr., Henry McIlvaine, Daniel Weissel, Jr., and Nicholas A. Wilson:

YOUNG GENTLEMEN—Your address of the 22d instant was put into my hands yesterday. The unlooked for expression of respect and affection which it contains has, be assured, affected me deeply. "The warmth of your feelings" has, indeed, led you greatly

to overrate my character and talents; but this excess itself has sprung from a source of generous sentiment which is always an excellent indication in the human mind.

You do me, however, no more than justice when you suggest, that in me you have had "a friend" as well as "a preceptor," and recognize my earnest endeavours "to instil into the youthful mind the principles of virtue and science."

And believe me, it will be the sweetest reward for every trial and anxiety which I experienced in your instruction and superintendence, if you keep in remembrance, as you assure me that you will, what you are pleased to denominate "my paternal counsels and lessons of wisdom."

These counsels and lessons were honestly, affectionately, and solicitously directed to the promotion of all your best interests, to render you wise, happy, useful and honourable in life, and to prepare you for a higher and happier existence when time shall have been exchanged for eternity.

It must be, my young friends, by the fear of God and trust in your Redeemer, by cheerful respect and obedience to your teachers, producing as its certain result eminence in literature, by the love of law and order, forming you to the most useful habits for all intercourse in social life, that you will become, what it is my earnest prayer that you may become, the delight of your parents and friends, the ornament of the institution to which you belong, the blessing and boast of your country; and, when all fading distinctions shall

be no more, candidates for that crown of glory which
fadeth not away.

Believe me, beloved youths, respectfully and un-
changeably, your friend,

ASHBEL GREEN.

Philadelphia, November 24, 1822.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE YEAR 1822 TO 1834.

I HAD begun at Princeton to translate from the French, Pictet's Christian Theology, and I had it in view to complete that translation on my return to Philadelphia. This and the publication of a volume or two of my popular sermons, would, I supposed, give me full employment for the remainder of my life; for I little expected to live to my present age. But on my arrival in the city, I was urgently solicited by my clerical brethren to become the editor of a monthly publication, entitled The Presbyterian. I consented reluctantly, as the Presbyterian was in a declining state, and on condition that the title should be changed from a sectarian to a catholic form. Thus I became the editor of the Christian Advocate, which I conducted for twelve successive years. In the first six months after my return from Princeton to Philadelphia, I was oppressively busy. My health was imperfect, and yet in addition to writing for the Christian Advocate, I engaged, at the urgent request of my friends, to redeliver the catechetical lectures which were interrupted when I assumed the presidentship of the College. The first part of these lectures I had delivered from short notes originally; but I now wrote them out fully; and indeed the most of the lectures as they are now printed, differ considerably from those that I first pronounced orally.

Beside my writing, I preached, on an average, as much as once a week. My diary states, that on one occasion I preached thrice in a little more than twenty-four hours. These public discourses were preached in nearly all of the Presbyterian churches in the city, and one of them in the Baptist church of Dr. Staughton in his absence. My catechetical lectures were also delivered weekly. During this period I had a seton put in one of my legs, in hope that it would help the dizziness of my head. I thought it had that effect for a short time, but it did me no permanent service. I wore it, however, for two or three years, and then suffered it gradually to get well.

I shall now quote my diary.

"From the 8th of May till the 5th of July, 1823, I did not keep a regular diary, which I now regret, and resolve that hereafter I will endeavour to be more exact. During this period I went to Princeton to attend a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary. I lodged at Dr. Alexander's. On my return the General Assembly met, of which I was not a member, but which I attended a good deal as a spectator and a listener. Dr. Richards lodged with me. The Assembly sat exactly two weeks. After it rose, I was employed the most of the month of June in writing for the Christian Advocate. I preached once for Dr. Neill in his pulpit, and had to sit down while the congregation sang a psalm. I also spoke for him three times in his lecture room. I went to Carlisle about the 15th of June, visited Dr. Cathcart at York, and preached for him; attended the commencement at Carlisle, and dined with Dr. Mason and Mr. Mahon. I returned

through Lancaster, lodged with Mr. Todd, and spoke in the evening at his religious society. On my way to Lancaster I fell in with Mr. Montgomery, who took me and my son Jacob home to his house in the most hospitable manner, and we remained with him from Saturday evening till Monday morning. I preached for Mr. Ashmead at Lancaster, and baptized his child. We returned to the city in safety.

July 6th. Sabbath. This is my birth-day, and I think I have had more to-day of those views and exercises which are proper for a birth-day, than on any similar occasion of late.

8th. This day I have been tempted to anxiety and distrust in regard to my worldly provision. I knew, at the time, that it was a temptation, but it followed me till the afternoon, when I endeavoured to pray earnestly that it might be removed; and I resolved (I hope in the strength of God) to endeavour to do my duty, and never again to vex myself with this subject, but to trust that God will provide. Studied pretty diligently in preparing materials for the next number of the *Christian Advocate*. Mr. Ralston called on me, and my son James very unexpectedly came in the evening.

9th. Left for Princeton with my son James. The carriage broke down in the street, but no injury ensued. We had a pleasant passage to Trenton, and a safe one to Princeton. Mr. John McLean met us at the tavern, and after taking tea with him I went to Mr. Vermil-yea's residence, with whom I am to make my home while I continue in this place.

While in Princeton I constantly wrote for the *Advocate*, as if I had been in the city, using the mail and

private hands as conveyances for copy and proof sheets. I had a good deal of social intercourse with my friends. I also preached once in the College hall, and once in the church in town, and regularly in a society which I instituted when I was the president of the College. I attended the Bible and Tract societies, and made a speech at both. The inauguration service of Dr. Carnahan took place while I was at Princeton, which I attended. I spent a good deal of time in reading. I read Jones on the Canon of the New Testament, and William Jones on the Trinity, and also Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel. I visited the place of my nativity, and preached there twice. A prayer meeting of the congregation of Princeton took place while I was on this visit, at which I attended and made one of the prayers. A good deal of my time was employed in a pretty extensive correspondence. The time I spent at Princeton, including my visit to Hanover, was six weeks and six days.

On returning to Philadelphia I was busily employed in writing for the Christian Advocate, and in reading the correspondence between Dr. Miller and Mr. Stuart, one of the professors of Andover Theological Institution. I had been appointed chairman of a committee to attend the examination of the students of the Seminary at Princeton, and according to usage, to address them previously to their vacation. On this occasion I wrote a long address consisting of eleven pages and a half as printed in the Christian Advocate of the month of November 1823. We had made a new arrangement for dismissing the Theological students at the close of a session, and this was the first instance

in which they were thus dismissed, and I endeavoured to delineate the proper course of their study and action till they should enter on the ministry of the gospel.

September 27th. Mr. Ralston called and sat some time with me this morning. Wrote a letter to Mr. Harris, a Missionary at Buffalo, and sent him a paper relative to the Widow's Fund. Finished reading Erskine on Faith, which I hope I have read with some edification.

28th. This morning I was good deal troubled with those strange feelings in which my mind seems to rise against the most sacred truths ; while yet I hope I abhor these feelings, I pray, that God will in mercy satisfy my mind whether this is owing to the nervous state I am in, or whether it is real sin. I had enlargement in prayer, and hope I was assured that these feelings are infirmity rather than sin. In the evening I had a sweet and solemn time; first in giving myself absolutely to God in Christ, and then in praying for a revival of religion.

October 5th. Sabbath. Attended public worship at Mr. Arbuckle's church, and assisted him at the communion. I introduced the communion service and served the first and last tables. In secret, before I went to church, I had a comfortable time, and I think I had freedom in speaking at the communion table, and some in my soul in communicating. I did not go out in the afternoon or evening, as it rained. Read missionary accounts in the evening. I hope this has been a good day to my soul, and yet it has been sadly mingled, as all I do is, with imperfection and sin.

11th. Mr. Davis and Mr. Charlton Henry called

on me in the morning. I prepared a letter to the Synod of North Carolina, and sent it enclosed to Dr. McDowell of Elizabethtown. Read the Unitarian Miscellany, in which were some remarks on a piece of mine. As I was taking my walk in the evening, I was obliged by the dizziness in my head to sit down on the pavement. Two gentlemen came up and assisted me home, I passed the evening however in my study pretty much as usual. Prayed in secret for the revival of religion.

13th. Dr. Neill called in the morning and invited me to attend prayer meeting at his house, which I did. There were thirteen of the brethren present.

18th. This morning I endeavoured to pour out my desires for the aids of the Holy Spirit, and had in secret a sweet time of access to the throne of mercy. O 'tis good thus to draw near to God! Went to hear an oration delivered before the Philosophical Society by Charles Ingersoll. I corrected and almost wrote a new piece for the Christian Advocate. The week past, my religious exercises have been much as usual. I think my private devotions, though at times sadly wandering, are on the whole a little more satisfactory in general than at other times. This evening I prayed once in secret for the spread of the gospel and the revival of religion, and with some freedom.

November 2d. Sabbath. This day I attended public worship in Dr. Neill's church. He returned from Synod during the morning service, which was performed by Mr. Osborn. He preached himself in the afternoon. In the evening I went and preached for brother Janeway, who was absent. I had very con-

siderable freedom in preaching from the words "We preach Christ crucified." Mr. Eastburn made the last prayer. Mr. Ralston sent for me and brought me home. I feel encouraged by being able to preach once more. Thanks to God, I think I see the answer of prayer in the assistance afforded me. (This was the first time I attempted to speak in public since the time I was helped home on the 11th of October.)

6th. Thanksgiving day. Attended church in the morning and heard Dr. Neill preach; Dr. Wilson made the last prayer. I spent the afternoon in preparing to preach in the evening, which I did with considerable freedom. (Thus I preached twice this week.)"

Having written somewhat minutely the account of the first year of my editorial life, as conductor of the *Christian Advocate*, I shall content myself with stating generally a number of facts.

1. I preached as often as I was able; and on an average once a week for many years. I served the African church, on the afternoon of the Sabbath, for two years and a half, and administered the Lord's Supper to them frequently, before they obtained the services of the Rev. Charles W. Gardiner. I received nothing for any of my ministerial performances with one exception; and that I obviated by leaving a charity in my will, which otherwise I should not have done. I visited, conversed, and prayed with many persons in sickness and sore distress. I lectured for two winters to the Sabbath school teachers on the portion of Scripture on which they were to hear their pupils on the next Sabbath after the lecture. My services were often

solicited to assist in the administration of the Lord's supper, and to preach preparatory sermons for the same; and these services were never refused when I was able to perform them. In ordinary circumstances I observed once a month a day of special prayer, with such a degree, commonly, of fasting, as consists in omitting my dinner altogether, or only taking a small piece of bread and a cup of water. On Saturday evening, I regularly prayed once in secret for the revival of religion in our own church; and also throughout the world; and on Sabbath evening for a special blessing on the religious services of the day. These usages I continue to the present time, except when I am more than commonly indisposed.

2. In 1827, a special effort was made to place a Bible in every family in the state of Pennsylvania that should not refuse to receive it, and a committee was appointed to carry this enterprise into effect. The committee met weekly in my study, as I was their chairman, and I wrote an address to the population of the State in favour of this undertaking. I have belonged to the Society ever since its institution; and since the death of Bishop White, I have been their president.

3. There has been a weekly clerical prayer meeting in my study for above twenty years. I found this meeting established by my ministerial brethren of the city, on my return from Princeton, after resigning the presidentship of the College. It was rotatory at first; each member taking it in his turn. This often bred confusion, as absent members did not know where the next meeting was to be. After I purchased a house, I

made the brethren welcome to meet in my study; and this has continued to be the case for the space of time mentioned above.

4. In 1824 I was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The following year, on opening the Assembly, according to usage, with a sermon, I was requested to publish it, which I accordingly did. On my motion, in the Assembly of 1825, the Theological Seminary of Alleghany Town was established.

5. I believe that I have been a member of all the Boards, or Corporations of our Church, since the time of their formation, and of some others, viz. of the Board of Education, of the Board of Trustees of the General Assembly, of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary at Princeton. I was a member also of that at Alleghany Town for a number of years—whether I am nominally so still, I know not; of the Bible-Society, of the Board of Missions, of the Trustees of Jefferson Medical College, and of the Alumni of the College of Princeton: I have been for more than fifty years Secretary of the Corporation of the Widows' Fund; and of several corporations I am President. On the whole, I thought I was as useful to the Church while I was editor of the Christian Advocate, as I was at any other period of my life; and I think that I was so regarded by my Christian brethren.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE YEAR 1834 TO 1846.

I HAVE mentioned above, that, on an average, I preached as much, for many years, as once in a week. I now add, that after having a bad turn of the complaint in my head for some weeks, or perhaps months, I did not preach a regular sermon at all; and after convalescence, I preached twice or thrice in a week. Nor was I idle when I did not use the pulpit, but performed such ministerial services as were not beyond my strength. I will mention two examples of what I here state. I had a bad turn of my head-complaint shortly before the great revival of religion in the College of New Jersey, while I was its President, so that I did not preach a regular sermon during the whole winter, while the revival was at its height. My place was well supplied by Dr. Alexander and Dr. Miller. In the mean time I instituted a lecture for those who were under painful exercises of mind, and for other students who chose to attend; and always heard the Bible recitations in the afternoon of the Sabbath, with an exhortation afterward, in which I had reference to the interesting state of the College in regard to religion. I also solemnly addressed the whole College, in a short speech, usually on Saturday evening; and my study was always open, and I ready to converse with all who needed counsel and advice in regard to all concerns of their souls. I

kept my seat, both at the lecture and at the Bible recitation; which I found to be a great relief. Some time in the month of March, or perhaps the beginning of April, I was able to preach a regular sermon in the College chapel.

The second example I have mentioned already, namely, when I sat down on the pavement to prevent falling down, and was helped home by two strangers. So that the only thing I have to mention is, that after I was again able to speak in public, I preached three times in a week.

After I gave up the editorship of the *Christian Advocate*, I know not how to proceed in writing my life, otherwise than by extracting from my diary such articles as appear most worthy of notice. This method I shall accordingly pursue; but shall vary from it on some occasions.

"1835. *January 1.* Spent the day and evening in reading my diary of the last year, and the *Life of Hannah More*. I have also tried to give thanks to God for the mercies of the year, to implore the pardon of my sins, and endeavour to live better in time to come. I prayed with Jacob, by ourselves—he being very sick at the time.

2d. The session of the African church met in my study in the evening. We admitted two persons to the full communion of the church. All my son's fellow professors, or nearly all, called to see him.

4th. Sabbath. I did not go to church this morning on account of the severity of the cold, but spent my time most diligently in my study, in reading and prayer. I read a sermon of Dr. Witherspoon. In the

afternoon I attended worship in the African church, and administered the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper—an East Indian received baptism. Brother McEwen preached the communion sermon. I felt heavy during a part of the service; but I hope I had some right feelings at the table of the Lord, especially in prayer. We had at our communion table to-day, communicants from the four quarters of the world. In private, beside my common reading, I read between nine and ten pages of Pictet in French. This has been one of the most pleasant Sabbaths that I remember ever to have passed. Bless the Lord, O my soul!

5th. Prayer-meeting in my study as usual this morning, and in the afternoon attended the Board of Missions. In the evening read through the printed minutes of the General Assembly. This has been a day set apart for praying for the conversion of the world to God; and I have been on my knees a number of times, but, alas! I had but little freedom. Indeed I have spent a sad day—hard and stupid, and wandering in my mind—a complete contrast with yesterday. Yet I have not neglected the forms of duty. O, Lord! why is it thus with me? O grant me quickening grace!. My stated employments at this time were preaching at the African church, and superintending the concerns of that congregation; and also in revising our Shorter Catechism, and adding to each answer the scriptural proofs.

January 31st. Was overrun with company this morning. When I came down from breakfast, I found Dr. Junkin and Mr. Steel in my study, with whom

I conversed a good while. Then brothers Swift and Bradford came in, and afterwards brother McEwen. Then Dr. Taylor, who did not stay to sit down. Then Mr. Whetham the printer, with whom I had agreed to print Dr. Witherspoon's life and works. Then a man from Cincinnati to pay for the Christian Advocate. In the afternoon brother Latta, whom I had met in the street with brother McCalla, called and sat about an hour. In the former part of this day I was very uncomfortable. My mind was full of discontent and a kind of sullen gloom. How much of this was mere nervous feeling, I cannot tell—but I felt like being rebellious under the dispensations of God's providence. Yet I bless God that he kept me from speaking or acting improperly, and I did not neglect my season of prayer in the evening. At length I obtained sweet relief in meditation and prayer. O, to be truly humble and truly submissive to God, and to have a constant exercise of faith in his word and promises. The week past my religious exercises have in general not been remarkable. Prayed, as usual, once this evening for a general revival of religion.

February 1st. Sabbath. I attended worship in Spruce street church this morning, and heard Dr. William A. McDowell preach a very long sermon, but a very good one. In the afternoon I preached in the African church, and had considerable enlargement, though I had a cold. In private read as usual; also ten and a half pages of Pictet. This has been on the whole, a good day to me. In the morning I had great earnestness and I hope great enlargement of heart in

giving myself to God in Christ; and in public worship had more comfort than common.

2d. There was prayer-meeting in my study as usual this morning, and eleven brethren were present. I had more freedom of mind in joining with others in prayer myself than is common for me. In the morning also I had a comfortable time in secret prayer. I have been in a sweet frame of mind a considerable part of the day. In the afternoon I attended the Board of Missions, when we gave Mr. Dodge one hundred dollars to remunerate his services. In the evening I did not go to the monthly concert, but prayed in secret for a revival of religion. Filed and bound old papers. My son Ashbel came in, and with whom I spent a considerable part of the evening.

March 31st. About 12 o'clock this day, Mrs. Butler, of the African church, according to promise on the last Sabbath, called on me. She went with me to visit a coloured woman, who is sick, in Ninth street, below the burial ground of Ronaldson, with whom I conversed at considerable length and prayed. I then went and visited and conversed and prayed with my old friend and parishioner, Andrew Hodge, who I am told is in his eighty-third year, and is apparently near death. Came home, and in the afternoon and evening wrote a little on my address to the theological students. I had one of my worst turns of giddiness, or rather of universal spasm, at the tea table; and could do nothing afterward through the evening till late, and then but little. Mr. Thompson, of Bedford Presbytery, called on me, and sat with me a good while in the afternoon.

April 25th. Sabbath. It rained in the morning, and I spent the time in private, and went through the routine of services in the church, reading two sermons of Dr. Witherspoon on importunity of prayer. This exercise was, I think, profitable. After a good deal of hesitation I determined to go to the African church, and if there was no other preacher there, that I would preach myself. I did so, and preached with some freedom. In private read as usual, and a good deal in the Biblical Repertory. In the morning, I was suddenly attacked with uncomfortable thoughts. I cried to God for relief, and I think found it, in a measure. A kind of stupidity has hung over me all this day.

May 1st. I observed this as a day of prayer, with fasting so far as to abstain from food after breakfast till tea time in the evening. I began the exercises of the day with prostrating myself in my study, and with confessing my sinfulness and imploring forgiveness. Beside my usual sins, and other subjects of prayer, I prayed for four things in a special prayer confined to each, which I have never done before, viz. (1) For the conversion of my unconverted children. (2) Relative to a contemplated change in my domestic arrangements. (3) For preservation and direction in going to Princeton and Pittsburgh. (4) For a blessing on the General Assembly and on the Convention. Wrote on my address to the theological students, and nearly finished it. Called a short time at mother's. Wrote two stanzas for Mr. McEwen's album.

3d. Sabbath. I did not preach to-day, the Presbytery having appointed a supply for the African church. I attended worship in the Spruce street church, and

heard Dr. Blythe in the morning in an affecting discourse on the substitution of Christ. In the afternoon Mr. Forsyth preached an excellent and accurate discourse on the words, "Who always maketh us to triumph through Christ." In private I read the religious paper called *The Southern Churchman*, and Dr. Fiske's sermon. I have attended to all my religious exercises this day, but have wanted sensibility and tenderness of devout feeling. O for quickening grace! I heard in the evening Sophy and Becky their catechism, and prayed with them. (These were two coloured children whom my sister Margaret found in an alley near our house, who had lost their parents, and whom she had taken to bring up.)

4th. Left for Princeton by Trenton Railroad. Took lodgings with my son James.

5th. I attended the examination of the Theological Seminary to-day. In the afternoon, on my way to the Seminary, I called to see Mr. Joline, whom I found very sick, and not likely to live long. I conversed with him at considerable length on the state of his soul, and prayed with him. I was extremely exhausted when I went to bed, but after I got asleep I slept well.

6th. Attended examination to-day.

7th. We finished the examination before dinner. I dined with Dr. Alexander, and met the Board of Directors at half past four o'clock, and delivered my address in the chapel of the Seminary. It was about an hour long, and I was carried through it better than I expected. Dr. Alexander earnestly requested me to publish it in the *Repertory*. I lodged at my son's, and did not go to hear the sermon in the evening.

8th. At eight o'clock left Princeton, arrived at Philadelphia at about one, and I gave thanks to God in secret for his goodness to me in this journey. I conversed and prayed in my study with a young woman brought to me by Mrs. Peters.

9th. Left the city for Pittsburgh by railroad cars. We had a pleasant ride. Arrived at Columbia at sunset. I found my son Ashbel sick with the measles; stayed with him. The week past I have nothing particular to write in reference to my religious exercises.

10th. Sabbath. I preached in the morning at Columbia on the words, "Now therefore there is no condemnation," &c. I had great freedom in preaching without a note. In the afternoon brother McCalla preached and I attended. In the evening I prayed with my son in his sick room. I hope the day has not been spent without some profit.

11th—15th. On the passage to Pittsburgh by canal boat, I had much pleasant conversation. We had prayers each evening. We arrived at Pittsburgh on the 15th. I stayed with brother Swift. Dr. Herron called and invited me to preach for him; but I made no engagements, as I find it is expected that I should preach the action sermon which the Convention is to celebrate on the ensuing Sabbath. I find that the Convention have chosen me their president, in my absence.

16th. I attended the Convention to-day, and did business with them. I also looked over a sermon which I am to preach to-morrow. The week past, I have not been able to retire for secret prayer, but have tried to pray mentally on my bed, and as I could. Yet I have

felt the want of retirement exceedingly. We had evening prayers on board the boat, and we asked a blessing at all our meals.

17th. Sabbath. I attended worship in the second church of Pittsburgh, and preached the action sermon. We had a good and solemn time, I think, at the communion table. As usual, I had not at the time of the communion as much sensibility as I could wish, though I hope I was enabled to act with sincerity.

18th—24th. During this week I was employed in attending the Convention, which closed its sittings on Thursday morning, after a most harmonious meeting. Then I attended the meeting of the General Assembly, though not a member. In the evening I attended a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, of which I am a member. My religious exercises this week were not peculiar. I had a room to myself, and have been enabled to perform my usual religious exercises in secret, which I have not neglected.

24th. Sabbath. I attended worship and heard a good discourse from Dr. Miller; and in the afternoon heard Mr. Breckinridge preach a very interesting discourse. The day has been past without any special religious exercises on my part; yet I have not neglected my secret devotions.

June 8th. I went to the General Assembly, and spoke to a considerable number of the members in relation to the foreign missionary resolutions; and I had the consolation to find that this most important measure, in regard to which I had almost despaired, was unani-

mously adopted. I had tried in secret to commit it to God in a special prayer. The Assembly adjourned this evening.

14th. Sabbath. I preached in the morning for brother Herron, from Romans i. 16. I had freedom in preaching; my sermon was sixty-five minutes long. In the afternoon I attended worship in the second church, and baptized the child of brother Swift, by the name of Edward Payson. In private, besides my Greek Testament I read the letters of Robert Hall. This morning I was greatly perplexed about my religious state, and very much disposed to despondency. But in secret prayer I found sweet relief and comfort. Blessed be God for this mercy.

15th. The last day in Pittsburgh. I have been here four weeks and three days.

As my return home was very similar to my journey to Pittsburgh I shall not give it in detail. On the 19th of the month of June in the afternoon we arrived at Columbia. I was glad to find my son Ashbel recovered. I had much anxiety about him since I last saw him; but God has been better to me than my fears. The next day I reached Philadelphia and found my family all well; for which I endeavoured to give thanks to God in a special prayer. My own health has been preserved during my absence, and I fondly hope that my journey has been of some use to the church as well as to myself.

21st. Sabbath. I sent for Mr. Neal, one of the elders of the African church, to inquire whether the congregation is supplied with a preacher, and was glad

to find that they have a supply. I therefore attended both parts of the day in Spruce street church, and heard Mr. Winchester. After the service in the afternoon I became dejected about my religious state, but found a most merciful relief in prayer in which I had uncommon enlargement. O to be thankful! I mourn that I am habitually so little spiritually minded.

27th. I left the city at ten o'clock for Princeton, on my way to Hanover, where I arrived in company with my grandson Ashbel, on the 2d of July.

4th. Spent the day at Hanover. This being the day of the celebration of our national independence, I was glad to escape the noise and bustle of the city.

5th. Sabbath. I attended worship in the morning, and heard Mr. Mandeville preach a good politico religious discourse. I preached myself in the afternoon, from the text "How long halt ye between two opinions?" I had some freedom in preaching, and the people were attentive. I walked out a considerable distance for meditation a little before sunset.

6th. This is my birth-day, when I enter my seventy-fourth year. I spent the day in more meditation and prayer than most of my birth-days, and I hope with some profit. We had a concert of prayer at my sister's in the evening, where I spoke and prayed, and there was two other prayers made.

8th. Left Hanover to return to Philadelphia, where I arrived on the 11th. I endeavoured to give thanks to God who has carried me out and brought me home in safety, and preserved my family and dwelling during my absence.

14th. This day I wrote a part of an article for the Presbyterian, and read seventy pages in Stuart's Greek Grammar.

26th. Sabbath. I attended worship in the Spruce street church in the morning; in the afternoon I preached and administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper in the African church, and without any assistance I was mercifully carried through the service, though the weather was warm. In the evening I had one of the most comfortable times in secret prayer that I have ever had. I did not expect it; for I was fatigued and much exhausted with the service of the afternoon. I had also freedom in prayer in the morning. At the sacramental table I had not great enlargement, though I hope I was sincere in devoting myself to my Saviour. I read Leighton largely in the evening, and felt a peaceful and serene mind in the blessed hope of the Gospel, of the most desirable kind. O, if I could always live thus, it would be a part of heaven on earth.

On the 27th of this month I went to Princeton.

August 2d. I preached for Dr. Rice, he being absent. I had some freedom in speaking. I desire to be thankful to God that I have been once more permitted and enabled to preach the Gospel. I had no trouble with my head complaint in preaching, but after dinner I had a bad turn of it, but it was of short continuance.

7th. I spent this day mostly in reading newspapers and the old minutes of Presbyteries, with a view to write the history of the church to which I belong; and in which I have already made some progress. Called on Dr. Alexander, and had a long conversation with him about missionary affairs, and about teaching the

theological students the Shorter Catechism of our church, of which some of them have been found ignorant in their Presbyterial examinations. In the evening I inquired of Dr. Stockton about the death of Dr. Witherspoon, whose life I am writing.

8th. This day I left Princeton for Philadelphia, where I arrived about six, P. M.

I shall not quote my diary further for the month of August.

September 1st. I received a letter from Dr. Ewing of Glasgow, in Scotland, in reply to one I had written making inquiries about Dr. Witherspoon. I spent the day in reading Marshall's Life of Washington, and Hill's History of Calvinism. This evening my son Ashbel and his wife came to be the inmates of my house. I endeavoured, in prayer, to commend them and my present family to the care and blessing of God.

6th. Sabbath. Mr. Symington called in the afternoon, and I went with him and preached with considerable freedom to a most interesting audience at the House of Refuge. I spent the evening in reading Leighton. My exercises to-day have not been peculiar. I have wanted spirituality.

7th. There was a prayer meeting in my study this morning for the first time since I went to the General Assembly. Five brethren were present. In the afternoon I met the committee of Missions, and did business with them till sunset. Dr. Woods of Andover spent the evening and lodged with me. He is on his way to Baltimore to meet the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.

13th. Sabbath. I preached in the Eighth Church

in the morning, and had freedom in speaking and prayer. I sat down in preaching, but stood up in prayer. In the afternoon and evening I read about two hundred pages of Dr. Wood's book on native depravity. My exercises to-day have not been peculiar.

14th. There was a prayer-meeting at my study this morning; after it, I examined a young man previous to his being received as a beneficiary by our Board of Education. Brother Winchester called, to whom I lent Woods on Native Depravity, which I had finished reading before breakfast.

26th. Rose between four and five o'clock, and prayed briefly in secret. I set out for Princeton, where I attended the examination of the theological students till near sunset. In the evening I had fears lest I was gradually declining in religion, and tried to pray to be preserved from declension.

27th. Sabbath. I attended worship in the College chapel. Dr. Carnahan preached, and at his request I made the first prayer, in which I had some freedom. Dr. Carnahan's discourse was a good one. In the afternoon I did not go out, but read and prayed in private. I read through the memoirs of Mr. Kilpin, a Baptist clergyman in England, which I found to be instructive and interesting. On the whole, I hope this day has not been mispent.

28th—29th. I attended the meetings of the Directors and Trustees of the Seminary. Arrived at Philadelphia on the 29th, and found my family well—thanks be to God, who has brought me home in safety.

October 4th. Sabbath. Mr. Elliot called on me and I went to the Mariner's church with him, where

he preached; and I baptized one adult and one child. I also administered the Lord's supper. I was afflicted with a cold and felt stupid, so as not to have the full command of my thoughts. I tried to exercise faith at the communion table, but had very little sensibility.

11th Sabbath. This morning I was confined to my house by indisposition, but I was able to go over the exercises of the sanctuary in private, and had much comfort in the service. In the afternoon I attended public worship in Spruce street church, and heard my young brother Forsyth preach an uncommonly good discourse on the "Glorious gospel of our blessed God." In the evening I read largely in Leighton, and finished the first volume on Peter. This is a most precious book, and I think it has been blessed to me. This Sabbath has been on the whole a comfortable day to me.

20th. At ten o'clock I took the steamboat for Salem, N. J., as I had to attend the Presbytery. We arrived at Salem at five o'clock, and I was received by Colonel Johnson's family, and treated with great kindness the whole time I remained in the family, which was until the adjournment of the Presbytery.

22d. Returned to Philadelphia and found my family all well, for which I desire to be thankful to God.

23d. I read newspapers and studied Hebrew all day.

24th. Studied Hebrew closely all day, and took my walk of a mile for exercise, but made no call. Brother Pinney called, with whom I had a long talk, and gave him some advice which I hope may be useful. I prayed for a revival of religion this evening.

25th. Sabbath. This afternoon I preached in the Orphans' Asylum, but I had but little freedom in speaking. I went and returned in Mr. Ralston's carriage.

26th. I reviewed Hebrew in the morning; and in the afternoon and evening attended Presbytery. Nearly all the examination of Mr. Elliot was conducted by myself.

27th. I rose before five o'clock, attended family prayers, took my breakfast, and left in the cars for Columbia and York, where we arrived at about nine o'clock. Dr. Cuyler met me at the tavern and conducted me to Judge Bradford's, where I was received with much kindness.

28th—31st. During these days I attended Synod very punctually, and took a prominent part in all their transactions. The week past my religious exercises have not been peculiar. The circumstances in which I have been placed, have prevented my regular attendance on private prayer, but I have not wholly neglected it.

November 1st. Sabbath. I attended worship in the morning in the Lutheran church to hear Dr. Breckinridge preach a discourse commemorative of the Protestant Reformation. It did not strike me as altogether adapted to the occasion; but it was better than most men could have done, with so little time to prepare as the preacher was obliged to take. In the afternoon I attended Dr. Cathcart's church, and heard an able and excellent discourse from brother Musgrave. In private I tried to pray, and read one chapter in the Bible, but I felt the want of retirement.

2d—4th. During these days I attended the Synod very assiduously. On the third of the month, the business of reorganizing our Presbytery was the principal subject before the Synod. I attended till near ten o'clock in the evening, and then left the church and went to bed much exhausted. The Synod adjourned between eleven o'clock and midnight.

5th. We left York for Columbia. I walked over the bridge, which is a mile and a quarter long. On arriving at Philadelphia, I found my family well, and have great reason to be thankful to God who has preserved me and mine in going out and coming in, in health and safety. May a law of gratitude to God my preserver be written on my heart.

14th. This morning, in reading the Scriptures and in secret prayer, I had a season of real communion with God; a deep sense of his condescension in permitting such a polluted worm to come near him and experience his gracious influence, was mixed with my rejoicing.

22d. Sabbath. I attended worship in the morning. In the afternoon I did not go out of the house on account of bad weather, and being somewhat unwell. In private I read as usual. In the morning I had some freedom in secret prayer, but through the day I was stupid, wandering, and worldly. In the evening I obtained some relief. The week past I have had two seasons of spiritual freedom and comfort in prayer.

December 1st. I wrote on my history, and have made good progress. This morning I had a sweet and comfortable time in reading the Scriptures and in secret prayer, and I hope I have felt the influence of it in some measure through the day.

3d. Fast-day. In reading the Scriptures and in secret prayer in the morning I had some freedom and comfort, but through the day I was very lifeless. I attended worship in Arch street, and made the first prayer, and with more freedom than I expected when I began.

1836—*March* 13th. Sabbath. I attended public worship in Spruce street in the morning, and heard brother Winchester preach with great satisfaction. I had a very comfortable time in secret prayer in the morning, and I hope some edification in public worship; but I had less spirituality in the afternoon and evening than I could wish.

17th. I began the life of Dr. Witherspoon on a new plan, and wrote nearly four pages. I had a comfortable time in secret prayer this morning. I did not go out of the house, but walked the entry for exercise.

April 1st. I felt my nervous complaints very severely this morning, but blessed be God, they abated before night. I had some comfort in prayer, and I wrote a good deal on Dr. Witherspoon's life.

17th. Sabbath. I attended worship in the Spruce street church in the morning and heard brother Winchester, who preached uncommonly well; but I did not hear with as much edification as I could have wished. I preached in the African church in the afternoon, and have seldom of late performed a service with so much freedom, though I was not free from a cold. Taken altogether, I hope this day has not been spent without some profit.

May 24th. I think I had a good and comfortable

time in secret prayer this morning, for which I desire humbly to thank God.

June 13th. The former part of the last night my sleep was much disturbed, but this morning it pleased God to give me a blessed enlargement in secret prayer.

July 5th. How uncertain, and often how delusive, are all earthly prospects. I was called up between two and three o'clock this morning by my son Ashbel, under the apprehension that his infant child was dying. He languished however until about seven o'clock, and then expired without a struggle, or apparent suffering of any kind. I endeavoured, in a short prayer with the family, to commit his departing spirit to that Saviour to whom he had been dedicated, and who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." I made another short prayer immediately after the child expired. The parents have suffered a sore bereavement in this dispensation, and I have myself felt much more than I thought I should on such an occasion. O! may God sanctify this stroke of his holy hand to my dear mourning children and to myself. In the evening a coffin was brought for the child, and I saw the dear lifeless clay put into it.

6th. My birthday, when I enter my seventy-fifth year. It seems a singular dispensation of Providence that the corpse of a grandchild should be in my house on my birthday. This I remarked to my friends who were sitting around the coffin of the dear deceased babe; and Dr. Cuyler took notice of it in the excellent prayer which he made at the grave, to which we went in two

carriages. I have endeavoured to review my life to-day, and have seen it full of the mercies of God, and of my own sins and unworthiness. I had this day freedom and tenderness in prayer and thanksgiving. O, may my few remaining days be more fully devoted to God than those which are past.

18th. I made a visit to Hanover, where I spent three days in conversing with relatives, and in contemplating the scenes and sins of my youth. I thought it was the last time I should visit the place of my nativity; but I have since been there once more. I went to see the tombs of my father and mother. I preached once at the house of my brother Calvin, on the assurance of hope, but spent no Sabbath in Hanover. I returned to Philadelphia on the 29th of July.

August 11th. This morning Dr. Cuyler called and informed me of the death of Mr. Robert Ralston. He expired this morning about four o'clock. Between this dear man and myself the most delightful friendship and intimacy have existed, without any interruption or alloy, for nearly half a century. Out of the circle of my nearest kindred, he has been the best, most valued, and most valuable friend that I have ever had in my long life. His piety was eminent and ardent, yet of the humblest kind that I have ever known; and his liberality in contributing to every pious, charitable, and benevolent design, has probably (taking his whole life into view,) been greater than that of any other man in this city. He has sometimes been called the Thornton of America. But besides his donations in money, his active personal exertions in promoting all charitable,

benevolent, and pious undertakings and enterprises, has been extraordinary and incessant, probably of more value than all his pecuniary contributions. Take him for all in all, I have often thought and said, that he was the best man I have ever known. There was no marked defect in his character, in any of the numerous relations he sustained as a husband, a father, a friend, a ruling elder in the church, a merchant, a citizen. He was alike most exemplary in all. He doubtless was not perfect, and no one ever mourned his imperfections, or was more ready to acknowledge them than he; but he approached nearer to perfection than is the common lot of even eminent Christians. He has gone to his rest and his reward in the seventy-fifth year of his age; and his family, his friends, the poor, the city, and the whole religious community, have met with a loss which will not easily be supplied. Dr. Cuyler earnestly wished that I should preach his funeral sermon, which my present debility from my late illness forbids me to attempt; but I have agreed to make an address, if I am able, at his interment on the afternoon of the day after to-morrow. His funeral sermon will be preached by Dr. Cuyler the Sabbath after next. After writing as above, I began to write an address to be delivered at the funeral of my friend.

12th. I spent the day in writing my address to be pronounced at the interment of my dear friend Ralston.

13th. I went to the house of my friend and looked at his corpse, and then went to the lecture room and delivered my address. The week past my religious exercises have not been peculiar, though I have had,

at times, a freedom in private prayer; and this evening I prayed specially for the Presbyterian Church, and for a revival of religion in general.

14th. Sabbath. I attended worship in the morning, and spent my time in the evening in reading Symington on the Atonement and Intercession of Christ. This is on the whole, the best treatise on the subject that I have ever seen; and I hope I have been benefited by reading it. My exercises to-day have not been peculiar.

21st. Sabbath. This morning I heard Dr. Cuyler preach an excellent funeral sermon of my dear friend Ralston, in the second Presbyterian church. In the afternoon I went to Spruce street to hear preaching, but it was the afternoon for catechising the children of the congregation, which I was delighted to witness. At the request of Mr. Sparrow, who officiated, I made a short address to the children, and then prayed. I hope this day has not been spent without some profit, though I lay too long in bed this morning.

September 6th. I spent the early part of the day in preparing to speak at the laying the corner stone of the new Presbyterian house of worship in Seventh street. At four o'clock I went in a carriage and delivered my speech. I desire to be thankful that I was carried through it without difficulty, and I believe I spoke so audibly that all who were present could hear; and so far as I can at present judge, without injury to my health. I prayed for help and have found it beyond my expectations. In the evening I read largely in the *Missionary Herald*.

October 4th. I felt miserably in the morning, and

yet I have done more this day in writing the life of Dr. Witherspoon than almost any other day since I have had this work in hand.

The Synod sat this year in Philadelphia, and continued their sessions five days. I wrote a long report in regard to the desecration of the Sabbath, and the Synod ordered fifty thousand copies of it to be published and distributed in the form of a tract. The Synod also resolved to raise thirty thousand dollars for the Western Foreign Missionary Society, of which, more than twenty-eight thousand dollars was pledged before the Synod rose.

On the 4th of November I went to the polls and voted for legislators. For many years I did not vote at all; but have lately considered that as I live under a republican government, and our legislators are representatives of the people, it is a duty which I dare not neglect, to give my vote for those that I think most competent to discharge legislative duties.

14th. In private prayer in the morning I had a most remarkable and unexpected deliverance from the bad feelings which I had experienced in going to bed the preceding night. I had asked help of God, and found it in a surprising degree. I know not when I have received such a wonderful, speedy and full answer to prayer. It seemed to banish all my complaints.

December 4th. Sabbath. I delivered in the Whitefieldian chapel a sermon, which took me one hour and forty minutes. This is by far the longest sermon that I ever preached, and yet in great mercy I went through it without much difficulty.

15th. Sabbath. This morning I had freedom in

secret prayer. Attended worship in the Sixth church, and assisted in administering the sacrament. It was a good season to me; not that I had a very great excitement of the affections; some I had, and I hope the acting of faith in covenanting with my blessed Saviour. I hesitated about going to church in the afternoon, but on the whole I thought it was my duty to go. I had in my private prayer after tea such a sweet season of enlargement, and spiritual views in a sense of the Divine presence, as I have not often had. This has been on the whole one of my most comfortable Sabbaths.

22d. Dr. Darrach called, and I conversed with him about printing the sermon which I preached for him on the 4th inst.

31st. This day I corrected the proof sheet of my sermon now in press. I spent some thoughts on a review of the year which closes on this day. I prayed as usual in the evening for the Church and the world.

1837—*January* 1st. This morning I rose too unwell to go to church; but notwithstanding my indisposition I went through the exercises of the public worship as if in the church, though I had to lie down once for a short time. The exercises I performed were blessed to me I trust. They commenced a train of views and feelings which continued through the most of the day and evening; so that on the whole, although I began the day with dejection, I have seldom spent a Sabbath more comfortably, and with greater freedom in prayer and meditation, than the present. Bless the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits.

8th. Sabbath. In the morning I attended public worship in the Sixth church. Blessed be God for the

consolations of his grace, of which I hope I have experienced something this day, more than is common for me.

26th. Sabbath. I had great freedom and comfort in secret prayer this morning; yet after my return from public worship in Spruce street church, I had some of my old difficulties. I attended worship again in the afternoon. In private I read the Bible and commentary as usual, and about six pages in Howe, and the religious newspapers. I hope this day has not been passed without some profit.

April 2d. Sabbath. I attended worship to-day; it was communion Sabbath. In private I read about seven pages of Howe "on the blessedness of the righteous," and the whole of the last report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with the appendix. This has been on the whole one of the most comfortable Sabbaths that I have ever past. I had, for me, a good time at the table of the Lord. I have sometimes, I think, had more emotion; but I had a tenderness of spiritual feeling, and delight in drawing near to God, through the whole after part of the day, very uncommon for me.

The Convention* and General Assembly sat till the 8th of June; and although I was not a member of the Convention, I daily and punctually attended its sessions, and afterwards, as a member of the Assembly, I was so

* This Convention was composed principally of the members of the General Assembly. But it was necessary that they should have a separate election as members of the Convention. The Convention prepared the paper which furnished the Assembly with the measures which resulted in the disruption of the Church.

occupied with its concerns, both early and late, that I had neither time nor strength to write in my diary. The Convention had several evening sessions, to which, as a member of the Assembly, I was invited, both to speak and vote as the other members did. I commonly went to bed very late, and was completely exhausted with the scenes and business of the preceding day. Once I had one of the worst turns of my head-complaint that I ever experienced. It was in the morning before breakfast; and for some time I could not rise from my sofa, even to call for help. But in a most miraculous and merciful manner it so soon subsided, that I was able to read the Scriptures; and to pray with my family as usual; and I had no return of a symptom of my complaint during that day, in which one of the most important and decisive measures of the Assembly was debated and carried. At the rising of the Assembly I was in better health than when it began. This calls for my warmest gratitude to the God of my life, and the hope of my soul.

It was very doubtful when the Assembly was formed whether the Old or the New-school party would have the majority. It was generally thought that the parties were nearly equal; and great anxiety existed on both sides when the test votes in the choice of a Moderator and the Clerks were about to be taken. In the choice of a Moderator it appeared that the Old-school party had a majority of thirty-one votes. For the Clerks, also, the votes were decisive for the Old-school candidates. The Stated Clerk, chosen for the last year, remained in office of course. After the Assembly ad-

journed in the afternoon, when the officers of the house had been chosen, the Convention immediately met; and their first act, on the motion of Mr. Robert J. Breckinridge, was to return thanks to God for the auspicious order of his providence in giving to the friends of reform the decisive majority of the Assembly which had just been manifested by the votes in the organization of that body.

The Convention presented their memorial to the Assembly, which was drawn up by Mr. Breckinridge, and signed by Dr. Baxter and Dr. Cuyler, the President and Vice-President of the body, and by Mr. Baird of Pittsburg, and Mr. Pratt of Georgia, Clerks. The memorial was printed, and copies of it distributed among the members of the Assembly. Beside the annual routine of business of the house, the various subjects of the memorial occupied nearly the whole time of the Assembly, during the longest sessions of that judicatory, except those of the last year—three weeks and half a day. All the important parts and suggestions of the memorial were ultimately passed; but the New-school men contested every inch of ground that was carried against them, with great tenacity, and with no inconsiderable talent. They felt that the conflict was for *existence*, and no effort which they could put forth was omitted. Their chief speakers were Drs. Beman, Peters, McAuley, Cleaveland, and Rev. Elipha White and Judge Jessup. Of the Old-school, Drs. Baxter, R. J. Breckinridge, W. S. Plumer and Mr. Anderson, ruling elder from Virginia, spoke at the greatest length. But they were powerfully aided

by Drs. Alexander, Cuyler, Witherspoon, Junkin and Judge Ewing. Others also gave occasional aid, as was also the case on the other side. For myself, my speeches were all short. Twice I spoke for about ten or twelve minutes, at other times scarcely more than five or six minutes. I think that the Old-school party did not fail to carry every motion which they made, except one or two. The previous question was frequently called by them, when the subject had been fully discussed, and it seemed to be the object of a speaker to consume time. Yet on all important questions, full time was allowed their opponents to exhaust all their arguments. On one important point the debate was continued for more than two days.

The majority of the Old-school on questions of moment varied considerably, but was always decisive. Once it rose to between thirty and forty, and once it fell to six; generally it was between twenty-five and thirty. The yeas and nays were called on almost every point of importance, and more protests and answers to protests will appear in the minutes of the Assembly for the present year than ever before. As the minutes will be published I shall not mention the particulars of the great reform which has been effected, and for which I, with many others, feel that we cannot be sufficiently thankful to God, who has at length heard our prayers, and in mercy, as we hope, begun to deliver our beloved Church from the evils which for many years have afflicted and corrupted it, and at the General Assembly of last year appeared to threaten its very existence. We ought still to be very

humble, watchful, and prayerful, that we do not by mismanagement or an improper spirit, lose the advantages which we have obtained. I was generally able to walk to and from the Assembly. Once only was I obliged to employ a carriage both to take and bring me from the house.

My religious exercises during the sittings of the Assembly, were performed as regularly as circumstances would permit; my prayer after dinner for my children was omitted when I dined out. In general my exercises in secret were as regular as I could expect in the situation in which I was placed. I had one season of sweet spiritual enlargement while the Assembly was sitting.

I was a member of the General Assembly during the three years of 1837, 1838, and 1839, and was of course a witness of, and a party to all the transactions of our supreme judicatory, and the important concerns of separating the New-school from the Old in the Presbyterian Church. It is well known that the decision of Judge Rodgers was in favour of the New-school party. That decision, on consulting my diary, I found was given March 6th, 1839. An appeal was taken from his decision to the court *in banco*, which sat shortly after. On the 8th of May in the same year, C. J. Gibson declared that the court in banco reversed the decision of Judge Rodgers, he only dissenting.

Having had my full share of the honours of the church to which I belonged, I told my Presbytery at their next meeting, after the year 1839, that I must decline any further appointment to the General Assem-

bly, but I continued to attend Synods and Presbyteries as far as my age and feeble health would permit; and also to preach the gospel of Christ. The last regular sermon that I delivered was at Princeton, to the coloured people of that village, on July 16th, 1843. Since that time to June 21st, 1846, I have assisted Dr. Joseph H. Jones, when in the city, at his communion service. At the last date mentioned, I made a short farewell address to the people. * * * * *

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CHAPTER XXIV.

THE abrupt manner in which the autobiography closes, and which we purposely leave, as it was left by the author, is very significant. It is easy to discover, as we draw near the end of the manuscript, that the hand of the writer is forgetting its "cunning," and is soon to cease from its labours. The reader will infer from the very few extracts made from his diary for the last five or six years of his life, that the labour of transcribing had become irksome. It will be seen in the sequel, that his time was fully and profitably occupied to the close of his life, of which he made a minute daily record under the veil of ciphers, intelligible only to himself; but the details did not appear so important as to warrant the great toil of translating and preparing them for the press. We are not aware that he ever attempted to write so much as a short letter after finding himself unable to continue his diary. His last use of the pen was in the official act of signing his name as President of the Pennsylvania Bible Society, which office he retained till his death. Though his mental powers were not so impaired as to disqualify him for reading and meditation, with profit and enjoyment, yet the difficulty of continuous writing deterred him from the attempt.

Here our editorial labours, perhaps, might legitimately end. The author of the preceding register of his own laborious and useful life, not imposing by his

request any other service than the care of his manuscript, we are not invited to proceed, nor perhaps warranted in offering our comments. It was his intention, as interpreted by surviving relatives; that his character should be deduced from his recorded opinions and acts. But we must presume upon the indulgence of the reader to our personal attachment and respect for our venerated friend, while we very briefly recapitulate the leading events in his story, carry it onward to his decease, and append a few remarks or reflections on his character.

And what an illustration of the sovereignty of Providence in directing our steps does this narrative exhibit! Who can fail to see the gradual disclosure of the same secret purpose which saved Moses from the Nile, made him learned in all the wisdom of Egypt, and then called him to a higher service than that for which his heathen supervisors and teachers designed him? We see the special goodness of God to Dr. Green in the excellency of his parentage, in the gift of such a father, whose memory has been embalmed by the son in the tenth volume of his *Christian Advocate*; and we see a sovereign display of this goodness in changing the purposes of the parent, who intended Ashbel for secular pursuits; and when we are apprized of the great firmness and decision, which were so characteristic of the father, we cannot but regard it as indicative of some special influence on his mind, that caused him to yield to the wishes of his son so readily, that at the age of twenty-one he graduated at Princeton with the double distinction of the first honour for scholarship and the valedictory. This was the year in which the continental congress sat at Princeton. The members were invited to

attend the commencement, and were seated with General Washington on the platform. In delivering his valedictory, the speaker took occasion to allude to the distinguished personage present in a few delicate and appropriate remarks, that were heard by the audience with great admiration. The orator received a formal invitation to dine with the congress, and was treated with marked attention by the commander-in-chief.

The same year in which he took his degree he was appointed tutor, and two years after, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, which chair he filled till 1787, when he was called to be an associate of Rev. Dr. Sproat, in the pastoral charge of the Second Presbyterian Church in the city of Philadelphia. This connexion, so reciprocally useful and happy, continued for six years, until the senior pastor was removed by the yellow fever which visited the city in 1793. Two years after he had resigned the professor's chair at Princeton, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, and received a diploma signed by Franklin, Rittenhouse, and others. Of his position in public esteem at that period we may form an opinion from the fact, that during the whole term that the sessions of congress were held in Philadelphia, Dr. Green and Bishop White were invited to officiate as chaplains.

After the death of Dr. Sproat, he was assisted in his labours by Rev. John N. Abeel, for whom Dr. Green had formed a strong attachment; the former having been his pupil "both before he entered College and during his whole academic course." This second collegiate connexion was dissolved after two or three years by the removal of Mr. Abeel to New York, having

accepted a call to the Reformed Dutch Church in that city. His third and last colleague was Rev. Jacob J. Janeway, of whom he speaks in his autobiography in terms of great affection and respect, and with whom he co-operated in the most delightful harmony until 1812, when he resigned his pastoral charge to accept the presidentship of the College of New Jersey at Princeton. This year he received from the University of North Carolina the degree of Doctor of Laws. Of his abundant labours and success during the twenty-four years of his ministry in the city of Philadelphia, he has left the foregoing record, in which he has done himself less justice than he would have received had the account been furnished by another.

It was the singular honour of Dr. Green, while presiding over the College, to introduce the study of the Bible as a part of the course of instruction. He also established a weekly lecture on Thursday evening, which was attended not by the students only, but by others; and his familiar expositions of the Scriptures on these occasions, are said to have been among the most instructive discourses that he ever delivered.

In 1817 the College was blessed with a remarkable revival of religion, which resulted in the spiritual change of many of its most distinguished pupils, some of whom afterwards became eminent ministers of the gospel.

In 1823, after having attained the age of more than sixty years, he resigned his Presidentship and returned to Philadelphia, where he resided till the time of his death. What were the toils, the anxieties, the joys, and sorrows, and more especially the results of this

important period of eleven years connexion with the College, are known only to Omniscience. The preceding record of it, made by himself, affords but a meager and inadequate history of the labours and perplexities of a station, that only they who have ever felt them can, in any proper sense, appreciate.

Of all the public services in which Dr. Green participated during his residence at Princeton, none was more deeply interesting to himself, or useful to the church, than his co-operation with others in the establishment of the Theological Seminary—the original plan of which was drawn up by himself. For his active zeal, personal exertions in various ways; his gift of books, of land, and his liberal pecuniary contributions, the Church will hold him long in grateful remembrance. But the withdrawing of Dr. Green from the onerous duties of his office at Princeton, was not prompted by a love of ease. It was the desire to seek an employment better suited to his advanced years and imperfect health; and one in which his accumulations of knowledge and experience might be consecrated to the service of his divine Master. It was this which led to the publishing of the *Christian Advocate*, an invaluable monthly journal, whose name is significant of the purpose for which it was designed. Few will make a proper estimate of the moral courage requisite to the undertaking of such an enterprise by an invalid, now arrived at the age of more than three score years. Yet after the experiment of a year, in which the responsibility of the work was divided among a number of his clerical brethren, Dr. Green became the sole proprietor as well as editor,

and so continued till his arduous labours closed with the twelfth volume, having carried its able conductor beyond his three score years and ten.

Our venerable friend is remembered with honour and delight by those who once had the privilege of hanging on his lips as he delivered the messages of salvation from the pulpit: his administration, while invested with the duties of office at Princeton, his varied labours in the cause of sacred literature, Christian philanthropy, domestic and foreign missions, and in maintaining the purity and integrity of the Presbyterian Church, have procured for him a name which "is as ointment poured forth." But the more conversant we have become with the instructive volumes of which we are now speaking, the extensive reading, various knowledge, critical skill, and fervent piety they exhibit, the more we feel the conviction, that on nothing which survives him has he left so much of the impress of his great character. By those who are familiar with this periodical, and who can appreciate its merits, Dr. Green's name will be held in the highest honour, not as the chaplain of congress, the eloquent preacher, or able President of the College of New Jersey, but as the scholar, critic, and theologian of the Christian Advocate.

After the discontinuance of the Advocate, Dr. Green was employed in preparing a memoir of the life of Dr. Witherspoon, to be published with a new and enlarged edition of his works. This important manuscript, left at the disposal of his executors, will, it is probable, in due time be given to the public.

During the last few years of his residence in Philadelphia, he was seen but little abroad, and very rarely

in any of the pulpits. The weight of years, and many physical infirmities, rendered it difficult and somewhat perilous for him to venture from home, or take the labour of any important official service upon himself. He continued, nevertheless, to attend the judicatories of the Church, and sometimes when the place of meeting was quite remote. The efficient part which he sustained in the measures of the General Assembly of 1836 and 1837, is familiarly known to most. How much he was concerned in originating, sustaining, and carrying them out to a successful issue, has been seen to some extent, in the plain, unostentatious record made by himself; but a better report of these eventful years, and one more just to himself, will be found in the sequel, from the pen of the beloved and venerable colleague of Dr. Green, who sympathized deeply with him in these labours and their results.

It was a prominent trait in Dr. Green's character, and one of the most convincing evidences of his piety, that through his whole life he was so earnest and active in his efforts to propagate the gospel. The brief narrative which he has given of this department of his labours, presents a very inadequate view of what the Church owes to his efforts in behalf of missions; and we insert with great pleasure the tribute of Dr. W. A. McDowell, a devoted friend of the same cause, not only confirming the author's own account, but supplying its modest omissions.

"MY DEAR BROTHER :

"In compliance with your request, I send you a few thoughts in relation to the important part taken by the late Dr. Green in the work of missions—more especially

as connected with the Presbyterian Church. That valued father was eminently the friend of missions, and of missions in the largest extent, both at home and throughout the world. He was the warm friend and efficient advocate of every cause which had for its object the glory of God, and the spiritual interests of men; but the propagation of the gospel by God's appointed means, preaching Christ, and salvation through him, seems to have been an object peculiarly dear to him, and commanded his best energies: and in his connection with the missionary work in the Presbyterian Church, my firm conviction is, he did more, much more, than any other man in the Church for the preservation of its purity, and the extension of its borders.

“He took a prominent part in all the missionary operations of the Presbyterian Church from their origin in this country. When the first “Standing Committee of Missions” was appointed in 1803, Dr. Green was a member, and was made the Secretary of the Committee, and for years was its most active and efficient member. When the Board of Missions was organized in its present form in 1828, Dr. Green, who had been mainly instrumental in effecting this organization, was elected its President. He was also made the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board, and had a principal agency in forming the plan, which, in its operation since, has accomplished such a vast amount of good. He devoted much time and effort to this work; and to his invaluable labours, under God, the Church is greatly indebted for the continued and increasing prosperity of this cause. In 1833, from advanced age and growing infirmities, he declined

being on the Executive Committee, but was continued as President of the Board until the close of his valuable life; and while his strength would admit of it, he was always in his place when the Board met.

"This excellent man, from intelligent conviction, was an honest, whole hearted, decided Presbyterian. In the true sense of the term catholic, he was a man of catholic spirit. He loved the image of Christ wherever it was seen, and embraced in the arms of his charity all of every name in whom that image was visible. There was in him nothing of narrow sectarianism. But while he loved all who loved the Saviour, and rejoiced in the prosperity of all evangelical Christian denominations, he was a Presbyterian from principle, and devoted his best energies to advance the interests of the Church of his choice. We now rejoice in the purity and prosperity of the Presbyterian Church; and I hesitate not to express it as my decided conviction, that for this inestimable blessing, under God, we are more indebted to the wisdom and untiring efforts of this valued father, than to the influence or exertions of any other individual. And we owe it to the cause of truth and justice, to make grateful record of this important and interesting fact. His unwearied efforts in the cause of missions, were largely instrumental in preserving the Presbyterian Church in its integrity.

"It was always the conviction of this good man, that the Church, under her own supervision, and by her own immediate agency, should engage in her appropriate work of extending the kingdom of Jesus Christ; and he felt, as few others in the Church felt, that this work would neither be neglected by the Church, nor be

committed to other bodies, over which the Church had no control, without incurring guilt and being exposed to danger. There was a time, when voluntary associations and national societies for doing this part of the Church's work were all the rage. There was an imposing catholicity in the plan of uniting Christians of different denominations in the good work of spreading the gospel; and the individual who would venture to express a doubt, whether this was exactly the most scriptural, and the wisest, and safest plan, was in great danger of being branded as a contracted bigot. This prevailing sentiment carried many away, who on sober reflection have since been convinced it was not wise; but so strong was the popular feeling for a time, in favour of what was termed "free catholic action," that even the friends of Church action, and ecclesiastical supervision were awed into silence. This beloved father saw the danger. He saw clearly, if the training of our ministry and the selection and location of ministers for Presbyterian churches were taken out of the hands of the Church, and committed to associations composed of many who were not Presbyterians, and who were not responsible to any Presbyterian authority, there was imminent danger that our whole system would gradually be undermined. With him this was a matter of fixed, deep rooted principle. He conscientiously believed it was the duty of the Church as such, to superintend the education of her ministry, and to engage in the work of spreading the gospel; and he was firm in sustaining and acting out his principles. In this cause, he endured much. By many opposed to his views he was greatly reproached, and

what was even more trying, many who substantially agreed with him on the main question at issue, thought him much too strenuous; but he remained firm to his principles. He saw there was danger, and he resolved, with God's help, to do what he could to save the Church he loved. It is well known to many who survive him, what strong efforts were made to annihilate the Boards of the Church, and throw our whole educational and missionary work into the hands of associations not Presbyterian, and not responsible to Presbyterian authority. The struggle was great and lasted for years. Through the whole, Dr. Green was foremost in contending for the rights and duties of the Church, sometimes almost single handed; but he was contending for what he firmly believed was truth, and the order of God's house, and he was decided. God was pleased to crown his efforts with success; and what honest Presbyterian, now that the conflict is past, does not see the wisdom of his course, and rejoice in the happy results?

"Many of us can recollect the memorable struggle in the General Assembly of 1828. Had the effort then made to dissolve our Board of Missions been successful, what must have been the inevitable result? Had the selecting and locating of ministers in Presbyterian churches been taken from the Church, and committed to any association not Presbyterian, and not responsible to any Presbyterian authority, what, as to all human probability, would have been the state of the Church ten years after, in 1837 and 1838, when the great struggle took place? Who can doubt that old-fashioned Presbyterians would have been a minority? And how

different from its present prosperous condition would have been the state of our beloved Zion?

"While we thank God for his great goodness, and rejoice in the prosperity he has granted, we will love to cherish with warm affection the memory of the valuable man, whose wise counsels, and untiring efforts, so essentially contributed to this desirable result.

"Dr. Green was a man of noble spirit; and to those who knew him intimately in private life, he was especially dear as an humble, spiritually-minded Christian. He took a prominent and active part in almost every good work; and as a general, public benefactor, his memory is precious. But Presbyterians especially, will remember with deep interest and warm affection, his valuable instrumentality in preserving to them, in its purity and vigour, the Church of their choice; and while pure Presbyterianism spreads its enlightening and invigorating and sanctifying influence over our land, and through our world, the name of Ashbel Green will be held in sweet and lasting remembrance.

"Your brother in the gospel,

WILLIAM A. McDOWELL."

For many years before his death, he was the only surviving member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Ardently attached to her doctrines and order, he not only maintained her cause with firmness in times of her greatest trials, but had the happiness of witnessing the successful operation of her institutions in whose inception he had so prominent an agency. He was one of the Trustees of the Assembly, having been for many

years the last member living of the Board named in the charter.

When the General Assembly held its sessions at Philadelphia in 1846, he ardently desired to be present with his brethren once more, when assembled in this august capacity. Without making his wish or intentions known, he caused himself to be carried to the house where they were met. So soon as he entered the door, leaning on two supporters, the whole Assembly instinctively rose, and remained standing until he was conducted to his seat. It was an unprompted exhibition of reverence and affection for a venerable man, now bidding adieu to that Church which had shared so largely in his affections, and had been so much blessed by his counsels and prayers. The scene was exceedingly affecting. After a few appropriate remarks from the Moderator, to which he briefly responded, he withdrew from the Assembly, leaving them standing as before, but bathed in tears.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE acquaintance of the writer with Dr. Green was not intimate until the year 1838, when, by our removal to this city, in which he was more instrumental than perhaps is generally known, we became fellow worshippers in the same congregation. His apostolic counsels at the instalment given in his Presbyterial charge, his affectionate and friendly advice in private on our assuming the duties of the new pastoral relation, were testimonials of paternal faithfulness and love, which are remembered with a more affecting interest, since the lips that gave them are sealed in the silence of the grave.

During the ten years in which we had the privilege of this familiar access to Dr. Green, our intercourse was unreserved and frequent, affording the most favourable opportunity, not only of knowing his matured opinions on every important subject, but of seeing the fruits of them in his retirement. For the first six years, though the advance of age was perceptible, yet there was no such decay of either his mental or bodily powers as to confine him to his house, or impair his enjoyment in the society of his friends. But his long continued sedentary habits had induced so great a debility in his lower limbs, that for more than a year he rarely ventured from his door without the arm of an attendant to support him. Such, however, was his interest in the ordinances of the Church, that he continued to attend public worship when he had become so feeble

that, having been brought to the door on sacramental occasions, he required the assistance of two to conduct him to his seat. In addition to this weakness of his limbs, he became afflicted with a difficulty of utterance, or want of control over his vocal organs, which was scarcely less distressing to his friends than it was to himself. So great was his labour in articulation for several months before his death, that he forbore to take any active part in the weekly clerical prayer-meeting at his study, or to lead in family worship. In his last illness, this impediment was so increased as to effectually prevent him at times, from that free communication of his thoughts and exercises, in answer to the inquiries of his brethren and friends, which he seemed no less anxious to utter than they to hear. To those of us who were in almost daily intercourse with him, there did not appear to be a failure of intellectual power corresponding to this decay of bodily vigour. His habits of reading and study were continued as usual; the productions of his pen in his correspondence and occasional communications to the public journals, evinced the continued strength of his mental faculties as well as their activity. It was his remark to a friend, not long before his death, that he had never read so much in the same time during any part of his life, as he had done for the last five years. A part of his daily reading had long been a portion of the Scriptures in the original, but which of late had been confined chiefly to the New Testament, in connection with the practical remarks of Scott, whose Commentary on the Scriptures he preferred, on the whole, to any other. Though his health was infirm, and was subject to frequent interrup-

tions by attacks of disease, yet he was habitually cheerful, and experienced less solicitude, and probably more enjoyment of life, than at any former period.

Through the kind providence of God, he was in possession of sufficient property for a comfortable maintenance, notwithstanding his long continued habits of liberal giving. Nor was it, in his own estimation, one of the least of the divine favours through his long life, that he was led so gently downward to its close. When, by a change in his domestic condition, there was occasion for one to superintend the affairs of his house, the exigency was met in the person of a much respected and excellent matron,* whose gentleness of manners, kindness of heart, practical wisdom, and especially her piety, fitted her pre-eminently for a charge at once so interesting and responsible, the nature of which she could fully appreciate. For the last four years of his life it was her privilege and pleasure to minister to the comfort of this venerated servant of Christ, whom the grace, of which she was a joint partaker, had enabled her to hold in proper estimation. It was her grateful recollection of his useful labours, and her christian love, which made her toils light, and caused her to watch around him with more than filial tenderness. The extreme difficulty with which he conversed, and often his inability to answer the questions of those who called to see him, made him taciturn when they were present, and apparently abstracted; yet there were times in his retirement when his tongue obtained a partial release from its fetters, and gave his spirit deliverance in ejaculations of prayer and praise, confession of

* Mrs. E. Sawyer.

sin, or in broken conversation with his devout and attentive friend. His decline was attended with but little bodily pain. Death, which was one of our most frequent subjects of conversation, was not always anticipated with the same emotions. At times, his title to the "house not made with hands" was so clear, that he would express a desire for the hour to come when he might enter it. Nor was his mind at any time so clouded with doubts as to produce despondency or slavish fear, although the moment of transition from time to eternity always seemed to him in prospect inexpressibly sublime and awful. The last struggle with the destroyer, the unknown physical suffering, were sometimes appalling.

For several years before his death he spent the greater part of his time when awake, in exercises of devotion. It was his custom to employ the interval between breakfast and eleven o'clock, in reading the Scriptures, and prayer. After dinner he rested from one to two hours, and at five resumed his private religious exercises, which were continued until six. At this time he prayed for each member of his family by name, next for the church, and then for the pastor. Not long after tea, the household were assembled for worship, which was conducted by himself so long as he was able to do it; afterwards by some inmate of the family, and was never omitted unless on account of some providential hinderance. At nine in the evening he returned to his secret devotions, and continued reading in the Scriptures with several hymns, and in prayer, until he retired to rest. His exercises in the evening were usually concluded with a hymn. So long as he

was able to kneel, he was accustomed to read and pray on his knees after having first pressed the Bible to his lips. This token of reverent affection, however, was never exhibited in the family, nor knowingly in the presence of others. On one occasion it was observed by a person in the room, whom he supposed to have withdrawn; and when subsequently mentioned to Dr. Green, he remarked that it had long been his custom to do it when reading the Bible in secret, not from any superstitious veneration of the cover and leaves of the volume, but out of love to its precious contents. Not long before his last sickness, his mind appeared for a while to be absorbed with painful thoughts and to be greatly depressed. The change was obvious, and so long continued, that his ever vigilant domestic friend was constrained to ask him the cause. He admitted that her conjectures were correct, and that for some days his mental conflicts had been severe and sometimes dreadful. It seems to me, said he, that I can adopt the language of Luther, when he felt that "all the devils in hell had been let loose upon him." At the time of this conversation however, the trial appears to have come to its crisis. His mind shortly after recovered its former tranquillity, and his countenance its wonted cheerfulness.

Dr. Green was an exemplary observer of the Sabbath; and when he was no longer able to partake in the exercises of the public assembly, he went through the ordinary services of the church in his retirement. After invoking a blessing, he read a hymn, which was followed with prayer; next the psalm or hymn which preceded the sermon, which was more frequently a

selection from Witherspoon than any other author. Then followed the prayer and hymn with which the services were concluded. When the family returned from church, it was his invariable custom to inquire what had been the subject of discourse, and the substance of the preacher's remarks so far as they could be recollected. Every token for good, any indications of the special presence of the Spirit, any accession to the people of God, were animating and joyful.

The decline of Dr. Green was not attended with any positive disease which accelerated his death. Though every menacing symptom was watched by his most assiduous and skilful medical friend,* who did much to retard his downward progress, yet the tendencies of more than four score years and five were not to be resisted by any power in the art of healing; and it was evident to all who saw him, that the time of his departure was at hand. How far the change from day to day was alarming to himself, or even perceptible, or what were his mental exercises, could be inferred only from the usual composure of his manner, and placid countenance, indicative of the movements of a mind engaged in meditations of interest and solemnity. To the questions often addressed to him on coming to his bedside, "How do you feel?" "what is the state of your mind?" his most frequent answer was, "tolerable." Indeed, this appeared to be almost the only word that he could speak, which was to some extent descriptive of his feelings. So long as he was able to articulate with so much distinctness as to be understood, he requested

* Dr. Hugh L. Hodge.

every clerical friend who entered the room to pray with him. To the remarks and quotations of the Scriptures by his brethren or others, he would usually give his assent by a motion of his lips or head, and sometimes by the utterance of a single word. When in one of these interviews, a brother remarked in the language of the apostle Peter, "Unto you therefore, who believe, he is precious," he promptly responded, "Yes, precious Christ, precious Christ, precious Christ," repeating it three times with the strongest emphasis. On another occasion, when we recited the well known hymn of Watts,

"How can I sink with such a prop
As my eternal God,"

the last two stanzas seemed to present a severe but faithful test of Christian attainment; but, said he, "I try to say them." At another time, when we repeated a favourite hymn by the same author, concluding with the stanza,

"A guilty, weak and helpless worm,
On thy kind arms I fall;
Be thou my strength and righteousness,
My Jesus and my all,"

he exclaimed, "beautiful." His wakeful hours at night, which were many, were spent in devotion. Several months before his decease, a member of the family was wakened at midnight by a noise in his room, like the sobbings of a person that was weeping. On going to the door and gently opening it, he was found with his eyes closed and lips moving, as if speaking in whispers with the greatest earnestness, while his cheeks and

pillow were wet with his tears. When asked in the morning without any allusion to what we have mentioned, how he had slept, he answered, that "he had had a precious night in communion with his Saviour." One of the most interesting and impressive scenes of his last days occurred on the Sabbath but one before his death. After the family had returned from the morning service, it was observed on entering his room, that his mind was burdened with meditations, to which he wished to give utterance, and that his emotions were producing a restlessness and agitation that were inexplicable and alarming. To the inquiries of his ever watchful friend, what was the cause of his disquiet, and what she should do to relieve him, he appeared to be unable to give any verbal reply; when it occurred to her that she would suggest the reading of the Scriptures, to which he readily assented. The portion to which she turned was the first chapter of the Gospel of John, and finding that he became tranquil and attentive, she read deliberately to the close. The sixteenth verse, "And of his fulness have we all received, and grace for grace," was a passage of peculiar interest to him, and appeared to produce a flood of touching reminiscences. Several years ago, when confined to his chamber by sickness, he had composed three sermons on this text, which he afterwards preached to the edification of his whole congregation, and to the special benefit of several persons who received from them their permanent religious impressions. The reading of this chapter not only allayed that distressing nervous excitement which preceded it, but seemed to impart a sort of inspiration by which his faculties were for the time emancipated: his tongue

was loosed, and he burst out into an ecstasy of joy and thanksgiving; "blessing God for the gift of his Son and the gospel, which contained the record of his coming, life, crucifixion, resurrection, and intercession. That he had been permitted to preach this gospel, and had been honoured with any measure of success in his ministry. For the comforts which the gospel had imparted to him, and the ineffably glorious hopes it had inspired of a state of sinless perfection beyond the grave." His voice was loud, his enunciation clear and distinct as it had been in the best days of his ministry; and this elevated strain of praise and holy exultation was continued until his strength was exhausted, and he sunk into a sweet and refreshing sleep. The scene was indescribably impressive and solemn. No person that did not see it, can imagine the majesty of the preacher and the power of his utterance, scarcely more unexpected than if he had spoken from the coffin, in which his dust was to be laid before the return of a second Sabbath. It seemed to be a momentary triumph of grace over the infirmities of expiring nature, a taking leave of mortality and the labours of his militant state, like the dying effort of Jacob; after which the Patriarch "gathered up his feet into the bed and yielded up the ghost." With this brief eucharistic service, his communion with earthly things ceased. From the time of this affecting occurrence his change was rapid and obvious to all. His difficulty in speaking was so great that he did not make the effort, but remained silent with his eyes closed, except when opened to signify to some inquirer his consciousness and understanding of the question, which he had not the power to answer.

The occasional motion of his lips and lifting of his hands and clasping them upon his breast, were indications that his thoughts were absorbed in the exercises of meditation and prayer.

As his strength diminished there were intervals more and more prolonged of sleep, when these tokens of his thoughts were suspended. There seemed to be no bodily suffering nor mental disquiet, but a peaceful waiting for the release of his spirit, which at last was called away so gently, that the moment of its escape was not perceived even by those who were watching to see it. At the hour of six in the morning of the 19th of May, 1848, he was lying in his usual position, his face upward, arms extended, and hands clasped as if engaged in prayer, when one of his hands became detached from the other and fell at his side; the other remained elevated a moment or two longer, when it began to sink gradually until it nearly reached the body, when its muscular strength failed and it suddenly dropped. At the same instant the motion of his lips ceased, and it was discovered that he had ceased to breathe. Such were the closing scenes of his long and useful life, and some of the circumstances that attended it. Had it been prolonged until the 6th of July, he would have completed his 88th year. Thus he came to his "grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season." It was a coincidence noticed by many, that Dr. Green and Dr. Chalmers both died during the meetings of the General Assemblies of their respective churches, and "that Dr. Green was buried on, or very near the anniversary of Dr. Chalmers' burial in the preceding year." Both

had occupied positions of equal prominence in devising and executing measures which resulted in great changes in their respective churches. Both lived to see the fulfilment of their expectations in the results of their agency, and both possessed to the last, in an eminent degree, the confidence and affection of their brethren. To the writer, the death of Dr. Green has been a personal bereavement, by the removal of a wise, affectionate, and candid friend, whose counsels could be properly appreciated only by those who had the privilege to enjoy them. It is, therefore, with many grateful and tender recollections that we have accepted the service which was imposed by his posthumous request concerning his manuscript; although it is with no affected diffidence that we attempt to prepare it for the press, and more especially to give the analysis of a character which it is much easier to admire than it is to portray or emulate.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE following interesting letter from the Rev. Dr. Plumer, not only contains many judicious and discriminating remarks on the character of his honoured friend, but so well bespeaks the indulgence of the reader by describing the task of the writer, that we are happy in having his permission to make it public.

"BALTIMORE, September, 1848.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—To give to the present generation a correct knowledge of the Rev. Dr. Green, is well nigh impossible for several reasons. He did not belong to the generation of men, some of whom are still with us, but to the generation preceding them. He was in the height of his usefulness and honour before you and I were born. It is only by tradition that even our oldest ministers know how vast was his influence in the councils of the Church during the latter part of the last century. I heard the late excellent Dr. Baxter, of Virginia, say, that on one occasion, when John Blair Smith, eminently a burning and shining light, returned from the General Assembly, he said with great pleasure, 'Our Church will rise, her ministers will be more and more eminent. There is a young man, Ashbel Green, who was a member of the last Assembly, who is as far superior to me as I am to ——,' (naming a very feeble man in the Hanover Presbytery.) Such was the impression the subject of your forthcom-

ing memoir made, even more than half a century ago. There is another difficulty in your way. Dr. Green was not a popular man. His manners, though not his views, were of the ante-revolutionary type. To strangers, and especially to those who had no prepossessions in his favour, there was in his manners an air of something magisterial or repulsive, which kept many at a distance, and which even his best friends regretted. It is true, this all belonged to the period of time and the class of men among whom he formed his manners. But still, it was the means of making him unpopular with many. Those who knew him well, knew how kind and gentle his heart was, and how full of benevolence were his speech and life. But strangers knew this not. Yet all who knew him well, will testify that he was eminently humble and self-renouncing in his thoughts of himself, especially in acts of worship. Should you succeed in doing full justice to the character of Dr. Green, your work will encounter prejudices from these sources.

"Dr. Green has been, since my first knowledge of him, a firm, fearless, and successful opposer of certain new doctrines and measures which have obtained in the American churches. This, too, has made many, who heard only one side, esteem him less than he deserved. His opposition to new doctrines and practices was always conscientious, open, frank, and free from violence and bitterness. No man, I think, ever rightfully called him to order in any Body for dealing in personalities. He was earnest, but he was fair. His weight of character and strength of mind, gave great

force to the side he espoused, and often secured the victory for the truth. Nothing awakens so much dislike in some minds as the success of an opponent. The reason of his self-control and good temper in troublous times in church courts, was not known to many. It was, that he was at all times, but especially at such times, a man of prayer. For many years during the period of greatest darkness in our church affairs, a weekly prayer-meeting, in special reference to the peace and purity of our Church, was held in his study. A few men, and those of reputation for piety, attended regularly. I once happened in at that hour, not knowing any thing of the appointment. Such were the humility, faith, and earnestness manifested, that I hardly remember any thing that gave me more confidence that God would at length give to the truth a blessed victory.

"I do not presume to furnish in this short letter any thing like a sketch of Dr. Green's character; but there were some pleasing traits of it so prominent, that I cannot refrain from alluding to them.

"His mind possessed above that of any man I have ever known, the *lucidus ordo*. It seemed impossible for him to speak confusedly. He always had, even in narrative, a natural and easy method. This was strikingly illustrated even in the year 1839, when he was called upon to give to the General Assembly some account of the formation of the Assembly fifty years before, and of the state of things in relation to religion in the early part of his ministry. Owing to his extraordinary powers of natural arrangement of his

thoughts, I have often said that I esteemed him the best lecturer I had ever heard. This is still my judgment of him.

"Dr. Green was eminently a lover of good men. I can conceive of nothing more pleasing than the intercourse between him and the late Mr. Eastburn, the apostle to mariners. The love they bore to each other was manifested in so many ways and so fitly, that it was charming to see them together. Dr. Green seemed delighted at any opportunity of honouring or encouraging that humble, useful man, whose life you know, he wrote and published nearly twenty years ago.

"Dr. Green delighted in making others happy. This was the more remarkable, as he suffered, I am told, from extreme nervous depression; yet I never heard him attempt to deal in sad strains, when no good end could be answered. He habitually strove to be agreeable, and to make every thing wear a cheerful aspect. He was to me, when I knew him well, one of the most pleasant companions I ever had. Although he lived as long as his friends could wish, yet many of them feel that his death has left a chasm not easily filled.

Very respectfully and affectionately, yours,

WILLIAM S. PLUMER."

The difficulties which the letter so well describes, we had anticipated. As Dr. Plumer intimates, the real character of this excellent man was unknown; nor were his familiar friends at all surprised at the erroneous opinions that were known to prevail, especially in relation to his kindness of heart, and genuine humility. His stately air, his occasional reserve, and punctilious

observance of what belonged, in his view, to ministerial dignity and decorum, savoured of pride and coldness, and were indicative to strangers of any thing but "the lowliness and meekness" of the gospel. For many years during the most useful period of his life, moreover, he was the subject of those distressing nervous affections which are common among sedentary men, by which the mind, the animal spirits, and especially the temper, are subjected to injurious influences which they have little power to resist. What he has recorded in his autobiography is but a sample of his experience, and enables the reader to form only a very inadequate conception of the extent or intensity of his suffering. "But although physical causes have so important an influence on the mind, though they often produce positive diseases which weaken the mind, disorganize its powers, and give exquisite distress, yet none excite so little sympathy with many, or constitute so poor an apology for delinquencies in acts of civility or of graver duty. The unhappy victim is perhaps ridiculed, or if not ridiculed, he passes hours and months and years of wretchedness without sensible relief. While the physical cause continues to operate, a man might as well attempt to uproot a mountain as to remove from his burdened mind the pressure of distempered imaginations." We have made this allusion to the imperfect health of Dr. Green, not to be understood as implying that he was habitually desponding and irritable, or that he was "incessantly doling out his complaints into the ears of others, and was suing for sympathy from nerves of wire." But to those who have made the mistake to which we have referred, in relation to his unequal man-

ners or temper, and who perhaps may call to mind some exhibition of impatience or acerbity towards themselves which caused momentary pain or chagrin, the explanation will be ample which is furnished by that morbid condition of the physical man in which one is so unable either to do the good that he would, or avoid the evil that he hates.

But in no respect has the character of Dr. Green been so much mistaken, as in his imputed love of strife, and uncharitable severity in his estimation of those from whom he differed in religious opinion. Many have invested him with the sternness of an inquisitor, whose tender mercies were cruelty to all who were so unhappy as to become objects even of suspicion. With those who have been led into this unhappy mistake, the remark will only provoke an incredulous smile, that the spirit of Dr. Green was not polemical. That in this respect he had more of Melancthon than of Luther in his temperament, and was involved in theological controversy less by inclination than from a conviction of duty.* To utter a sentence that would wound, often gave him greater pain than it caused his antagonist, as he himself asserts in one of the most caustic and effective reviews that he ever penned. "With whatever belief or unbelief the declaration may be received, we do declare that it does not belong to us deliberately to say any thing wounding to the feelings of another without giving very sensible pain to ourselves. But when the cause of truth and the interests of religion make the demand, we have ever held, and we believe shall always maintain, that the feelings both of ourselves and others

* Page 239, Autobiography.

are to be sacrificed to their defence and preservation. *Feelings* it may often be our duty to violate—*principles*, never.”*

Thus it is easy to perceive in all his controversial writings the same dignified earnestness, self-possession, courtesy, and excellent temper, which characterized his speeches in our ecclesiastical assemblies. While all felt the power of his arguments, and many were stung with the pungency of unwelcome truth, yet none accused him of being offensively personal, or of any thing in sentiment or manner which was unbecoming a Christian gentleman. Not long after coming to reside in the city of Philadelphia in 1838, we were invited to his study for a private interview, which he said he had solicited as a friend for the purpose of volunteering a little counsel, and which he introduced in the following playful manner: “No doubt,” said he, “you have heard of me as the old Pope of the Presbyterian Church, very bigoted and strait laced in my opinions, and a great heresy hunter; so you will not suspect me of being timid and time serving in what I am about to say to you on the subject of theological controversy; but my advice is, that you let it alone. Have your own opinions on all important subjects matured, and be prepared to maintain them; but do not preach polemically, by bringing into the pulpit the controversies of the Church.” It is unnecessary to give in detail the various reasons by which this and other paternal counsels were supported; it is enough to say, that they all evinced an aversion to strife and discord, for which Dr. Green has had little credit with the public generally,

* Christian Advocate, July, 1825.

but which was inferior only to his love for the truth. But while he watched with so much jealousy against any invasion of the order and doctrines of the Presbyterian Church, he did not assume the prerogative of controlling the opinions and practices of others. We well remember the kindness and respect with which he was accustomed to speak of other denominations, and especially of some of the clergy of New England, whose sentiments on the subject of doctrine, as well as the government of the Church, were not in perfect harmony with his own. It is well known what were his views on that great central truth of revelation, the atonement of Christ, viz., that the extent of its efficacy is implied in its definition. To him it appeared that the only fundamental question related to its nature, and that men's views of its scope must be modified or controlled by the answer which they give to this. But while he was constrained to differ from others in their expositions of this cardinal doctrine, he was accustomed to say, "if my brethren will agree with me in respect to the nature of the atonement, I will not quarrel with them about the extent, but leave it to themselves to reconcile any incongruities among the several parts of their own systems." It will not be pretended that our excellent friend did not partake in the infirmities of a nature that was sanctified only in part, nor that he was wholly impregnable to temptation, by which he was assailed in many forms, especially at the period when he was so much flattered and honoured. His manners, both in public and private, evinced a respect for himself, and a persuasion of the truth and importance of his own opinions, which were the occasion sometimes of

animadversion, especially with those who did not know that this apparent complacency in himself, was connected with an habitual renunciation of all personal excellence, and with a sincere self-abasement.

But the occasion for much that it would have been incumbent on his biographer to say, has been superseded by his manuscript, much of which, as has been said, was originally written in a cipher which nobody else could interpret, and with no intention at the time of ever doing it himself. Nor was it translated till towards the close of his life, when it was undertaken at the request of several friends, who felt it to be due to others as well as to himself that it should be made intelligible, whether it were published or not. The pages of a journal thus prepared, reflect so faithfully and fully the writer's character, that we are relieved of the most delicate part of a biographer's labour, especially by the circumstances mentioned in the preface, under which it is published. We have little more to do therefore, than perform the humble task of a reviewer of the story of himself, and call the reader's attention to a few prominent traits which the facts related illustrate.

CHAPTER XXVII.

To the impartial reader of the preceding work, it will be obvious, we think, that the most distinguishing trait of Dr. Green's character was his

PIETY.

We do not believe that the most prejudiced mind can resist the conclusion that Dr. Green was an "Israelite indeed" of more than ordinary spiritual gifts and attainments. From the beginning of his life to its close, it seemed to be his governing maxim, that he was not his own. The early conflict with the ambition of his heart, so assiduously nurtured by the well meant counsels of certain influential friends that he should devote himself to the law, was somewhat protracted and severe. The account given us in private of several circumstances not recorded, showed the trial of his faith to be much greater than will be supposed by the reader of the imperfect statement which he has published. But from the time of this decision to enter the ministry of Christ, the love of Christ habitually constrained him, both in private and public, not only in his official acts, but in all the little details of personal and domestic duty.

We could refer the reader to a striking illustration of the influence of piety on his ordinary concerns, in the devout manner of preparing for his journeyings; in his motives, objects, and method of travel—not for idle

recreation, but for health, "to endeavour to promote by every means in his power the glory of God," and to convert the advantages gained by change and communion with strangers to the purposes of greater usefulness at home. His diary shows what had long been familiarly known to his friends, that his habits in all his life, especially during the latter part of it, were eminently devotional. Indeed the frequency of his seasons of prayer, and their long continuance, were the occasion of no little inconvenience very often, to those who wished to have access to him on matters of business. When, after several unsuccessful attempts at different hours, to see him on a subject of interest to himself, a female relative received, on entering his study, the usual laconic repulse, "I am engaged in my devotions; I cannot see you now." "And so you always are, Doctor," said she, "and if I cannot see you at such a time, I despair of seeing you at all." For many years he read the Scriptures daily on his knees, converting the language into confessions, thanksgiving, or petitions, as it was adapted to express the various exercises and desires of his own heart. When engaged in prayer, he usually spoke in a subdued or low tone of voice, for the purpose of fixing his thoughts, and keeping his mind from wandering. One day in each month was set apart for fasting and special prayer, when he abstained almost wholly from food till the day was over, unless such an abstinence was forbidden by the delicate state of his health. During our familiar intercourse for more than nine years, we do not remember to have once found him in his study in such a frame, that the subject of practical and experimental religion did not

appear to him both seasonable and grateful. No matter what the topic of conversation, or the business with which his mind was occupied, the transition to the personal claims of religion, the nature and evidences of a work of grace, and more especially the character and offices of the Redeemer, was always easy and natural. His favourite theme of meditation and discourse, especially in our social meetings, was the doctrine of justification by faith. Indeed it was the standing subject of every address at the table of the Lord for two or three years before his death. Every reader of this memoir who was ever present when, after the distribution of the elements, our venerable friend rose slowly from his chair at the side of the pastor, will remember a scene to his eye, and impressions on his heart, the writer would attempt in vain to describe. What emotion and tenderness in his allusion to the love of Christ to sinners, and especially to himself, whose lease of life had been so much longer than he had expected. Who can ever forget that favourite sentiment, so often repeated, and in the same phraseology, "God hath put more honour on his law by the death of his Son, than if the whole race of Adam had endured its penalty to all eternity in hell." With what solemn utterance, expressive more of their sorrow and apprehension than his own, did he repeatedly take leave of his fellow communicants with an almost assured persuasion that he should never meet them at the table on earth again. When constrained at last to remain at home, he requested that his tender love should be given to his brethren, and then added, "I shall never go to the church again, nor join in the worship of the saints on earth; but tell the

communicants from me, to be true Christians." He was standing at the time in his study at a distance from his usual place of sitting, and appeared to have been making trial of his strength and capacity for venturing to go out. He spoke with much difficulty, and endeavoured to continue his remarks, and explain his meaning more fully, but failed. As if he would have said, "tell them to be not formalists and professors merely, but to have the spirit and mind of the Master whose death they celebrate."

But among the forms under which the piety of Dr. Green was developed, we feel constrained to take distinctive notice of his

HUMILITY.

We recur to this trait in his religious character already noticed for a few additional remarks, on account of the popular impression, of which we do not affect to be ignorant, that this is the grace in which he was particularly deficient. It is not pretended by this remark that Dr. Green was free from pride, or that he was unaffected by the honours and applause which were so liberally bestowed upon his labours, especially during the popular career which preceded his removal to Princeton. The crowds pressing to hear him, the marked respect shown him by the eminent men of the time, the numerous tokens of public esteem and compliments to his eloquence and talents, "which will always be reported to the preacher by Satan, if by nobody else," were not without their influence, of which no one was more painfully conscious than himself. "They praise me," said Henry Martyn, "and I

am pleased, but how do I abhor the pleasure that I feel." So with regard to Dr. Green, to assert that none of these things moved him, would be to assume that he was not a man. Indeed it was the subject of habitual sorrow in secret against which he watched and prayed daily.

An aged lady, a highly respected member of the Society of Friends, telling some of her reminiscences of Dr. Green said, that "she could remember when he was thought to be a handsome man but a very proud one." Such an opinion would easily obtain, among those who, without regard to the effect of education, associations in life, or official standing, are apt to regard any departure from simplicity in manners and apparel as indicative of pride. How far his stately gait, courtly dress, powdered wig, &c., gave occasion to such animadversions as just quoted we cannot say. Doubtless, however, there are certain proprieties of manner and attention to personal appearance prescribed by public sentiment, to which a man may deem it best to conform from other motives than such as are culpable. We well remember an interesting conversation on the subject of his ministry, in which we made particular reference to this period of his great popularity, and inquired about its influence upon his feelings, and the power of this temptation on his heart. The point of our question was perceived, and he very candidly acknowledged that it was a season of peculiar trial, but he could not reprehend himself for having "shunned to declare the whole counsel of God," so far as he knew it; and yet, said he, "I can look back upon no part of my ministry with the smallest complacency, but must

throw myself down at the foot of the cross; and my only hope of acceptance is through the righteousness of the Saviour whom I have so inadequately preached." But although the discourses of Dr. Green at this early period of his ministry were evangelical and edifying, as well as attractive; yet those who were spared to hear his discourses in later life, noticed with interest the change described by one of his admirers, "that they were less laboured in respect to rhetorical finish, but more rich in doctrinal truth and more instructive." It is said, that not long after entering upon his labours in the Second church, he was accosted by an humble member of his flock, a pious woman on her way from service on the Sabbath, who fearing that his language was not always adapted to the capacities of a portion of his hearers, took the liberty of giving her youthful pastor a hint. "Mr. Green" said she, "what do you think is the great business of the shepherd?" "No doubt to feed the flock, madam," was his reply. "That is my notion too, she added, and therefore I think he should'nt hold the hay so high that the sheep cannot reach it."

The monition was received in the spirit with which it was given, and probably had its influence in causing him afterwards to "hold the hay" lower. Indeed, the kindness and gratitude with which he listened to those friends who had the fidelity to admonish him of his faults, is one of the numerous evidences of that lowliness of mind which was sometimes thought to be wanting in his conversation and general demeanour. When a clerical brother once spoke to him of a distinguished clergyman then living, who was said to have the same besetting sin with himself, "Yes," said Dr. Green, "but

there is this difference between us, I know that I am proud, but he does not appear to know that he is." It was commonly remarked by those who were conversant with him in the latter part of his life, that none of the graces of piety were more conspicuous than his humility and tenderness of conscience. We remember a trifling occurrence which evinced the jealousy of his motives and distrust of himself in the performance of some of the simplest christian duties. A female communicant in the church with which he worshipped, but in a very humble condition, was known to him, while a member of his household, to have done something not consistent with her christian profession, and he thought it his duty to reprove her, which was done with suitable fidelity and tenderness. But as the conduct of the offender had been injurious to him personally, he was afraid that there had been a mingling of himself in his admonition, and that he had done it with too much asperity, and his reflections began to give him disquiet. After much deliberation and prayer, therefore, he sent for the delinquent again, who had not manifested a proper contrition for her fault, and then repeating his reproofs with the utmost gentleness of manner, he added, that he had asked for the second interview, not so much to express his continued conviction of the greatness of her offence, as the fear that he had wounded her feelings by too much harshness in his language or manner.

Another prominent trait in the character of Dr. Green, was his

CHARITY.

We refer more particularly in this to the sentiments

which he entertained of his brethren, of their labours, and of the uniform kindness with which he spoke of them. Doubtless there are many who will read this remark with surprise, and think it at utter variance with his militant career for several years, when his agency in the affairs of the Church, it will be said, savoured of any thing but charity and forbearance. In the few remarks which we have proposed to append to the autobiography of Dr. Green, we have not felt it our province to review the history of the Presbyterian Church, with which his life is so closely blended; nor have we intended to canvass in detail, and proffer a vindication of those measures that were attended with so much agitation, and followed by such important results. After yielding to the wishes of relatives that we should commit to the press the manuscript as left by the author, and let him give his own account of his principles and acts, we have felt exonerated from such an arduous service. But whatever may be the views of any in relation to the wisdom, the policy, or the piety of his conduct, we are persuaded that he was conscious of no other motive than "a zeal for God," however it may have been deemed by others as neither according to charity nor knowledge. Nor do we think that his severest judge can point to a single sentence in either his writings or his speeches, which betrays a bad temper, or a heart bereft of proper respect for his antagonist, however severely he might reprobate his errors. But the reader of the journal of Dr. Green, can hardly fail to notice a continued exhibition of his charitable spirit in the manner with which he mentions the services of his clerical brethren, whether abroad or

at home. How large a proportion of their sermons and addresses is represented as being "instructive," "evangelical," or "excellent," many of which, we have reason to presume, were commended mainly by the "simplicity and godly sincerity" of the preachers in presenting some of the elementary truths of the gospel. In our fraternal intercourse as members of the same ecclesiastical bodies, or worshippers together in the same religious assemblies, we have had very frequent occasion to notice this amiable trait. No matter what the speaker's manner, the small amount of intellect, taste, or learning evinced in his performance; did the address or sermon exhibit Christ, and was it imbued with the spirit of the gospel, he invariably listened with interest, and spoke of it afterwards with commendation. His manner may have been sometimes unhappy, but that he had a warm and affectionate heart, was evinced by the cordial and strong attachment of his people, which could have never been generated by any exhibition of talent, or mere intellectual attractions. The same trait, moreover, was demonstrated fully by his patience and often surprising forbearance, under circumstances that were well fitted to put these graces to a rigorous test. Notwithstanding his general popularity in his congregation, Dr. Green had nevertheless his full share of those petty annoyances which occur in the experience of almost every pastor; and which serve, like a "thorn in the flesh," not only to repress undue complacency or self-exaltation, but to give an insight into human character which could never be obtained without them. The meekness and submission with which he bore some of these trials, but for our know-

ledge of his character, would seem like tameness or pusillanimity.

When a member of his congregation (sufficiently characterized by what we are about to say of him) found Mrs. Green one evening sitting at her table enjoying the luxury of two candles, and had the effrontery to extinguish one, at the same time dropping a wholesome admonition on "the extravagance of ministers' wives," the insult was received without resentment, or any other feeling than compassion for a man who was capable of such a rudeness.

Another of his hearers, who had taken offence, perhaps, at some imagined slight, and thus become biassed against him, took the very common method of such malecontents of a congregation, to complain of his pastor's delinquencies; and among others, of his preaching old sermons. Dr. Green, knowing that it all proceeded from spleen, did not suffer himself to be disquieted, but only watched his own spirit with more vigilance and jealousy, lest he should be provoked to indulge in feelings or expressions unbecoming his character. Having occasion to retire to the country for a short time on account of his health, he was enabled while there to prepare a discourse with some care on a topic of much interest to himself, and which on his return he preached with great acceptance to the congregation. But there was a single exception in the case of the Mr. —, who, less to the disappointment of those who knew him than to their chagrin, repeated his usual murmur, "The sermon was good enough, but he had heard it before." In such a state of the preacher's health, just recovering from an attack of disease, and

poorly able to preach at all, the unkindness of such a grumbler was suited to excite any emotions but those of charity. But when reported to Dr. Green, instead of manifesting displeasure, or even pain, he mildly remarked, that "there were two sorts of memories among men, the one for things that did occur, and the other for things that did not occur. Now, unfortunately for Mr. —, he has a memory of the latter description, and I will thank you, sir, to go in my name and tell him so." Such incidents, in the pastoral experience of our venerable friend, may serve the double purpose of displaying the graces of his Christian character, and of furnishing a sample of the material which is much more plentiful in the congregations of ministers than is known to any but themselves, and none but they are capable of estimating the vexation and sorrow of heart which is caused by such tormentors.

Dr. Green, as none who knew him will deny, was distinguished for his

INGENUOUSNESS AND CANDOUR.

Among all the imputations, even of those who regarded him with least favour, he was never charged with duplicity or concealment. An eminent layman who knew him from childhood says, "If there was any one thing which was characteristic of him it was honesty, the calling of things by their right names; and whenever he made a record, what he wrote he believed to be true in all its parts." His opinions on all subjects, secular and religious, whether right or wrong, were honestly held and as honestly confessed and defended. In this respect, as well as in others, which

will occur to many, he was like Richard Baxter, whom one of his biographers represents "as made transparent by his integrity." Baxter likewise wrote an autobiography with so much fidelity, that in "his lengthened and rigid description of himself, he may be regarded as furnishing us with that window in the heart for which the philosopher so ardently but vainly sighed, and by which he has enabled us to see all its movements and hidden springs." We do not presume to contrast the two productions, nor speak of their comparative merits, which are as different as were the general character and habits of their respective authors. And yet, the permission given by Dr. Green to surviving friends to publish whatever they pleased of his diary, is an implied persuasion not only of his sincerity in making the record, but of his willingness to have his thoughts and actions in secret scrutinized, as well as his public. But the trait of which we now speak, however excellent and suited to procure general respect, is not one of those qualities which always render a man's society most coveted in private. The complacency of men in themselves and their own opinions, disqualifies them to appreciate the candour of that faithful friend, who has the independence to tell them unpalatable truth. Hence the honest expression of Dr. Green's views in the numerous convocations of the Church, and in his Advocate, often gave offence. We have frequently noticed in his intercourse with others, and have sometimes felt ourselves the force of what we now describe. While we admitted the excellency of the sentiments, and the motive by which it was prompted, we could not but see that it was received at times

with less favour, on account of the honest bluntness with which it was imparted. That Dr. Green was tenacious of opinions which he deemed important, and that he sometimes enforced them with an independence and inflexible perseverance which savoured of sternness and dogmatism, we do not dispute. And yet the sentiments of others, as well as their persons, were treated with becoming respect. When on one occasion Dr. John Breckinridge proposed a conference with certain clergymen on a subject of great importance, pleasantly adding by way of supporting his suggestion, "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety." "Very true," said Dr. Green; "but you know, brother Breckinridge, that not every man is fit to be a counsellor."

In the following communication from Dr. Miller of Princeton, the reader will find a rehearsal of some occurrences in the life of Dr. Green which have already been mentioned; yet his interest in the narrative will not be abated by the repetition. In a private note which accompanied the contribution of Dr. Miller, he speaks of its "failing to come up to what he hoped to make it," but with characteristic humility he adds, that "such as it is, you must receive it as the affectionate tribute of an aged man who, amidst all his infirmities and official cares and burdens, has done what he could."

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER:

You request me to communicate to you some of my recollections of the late venerable and excellent Dr. Green. I comply with this request with peculiar plea-

sure, because, in common with every Presbyterian in the United States, I feel myself a deep debtor to his memory, and deem it a privilege to be allowed to make the smallest contribution toward embalming it in the religious mind of our country. While I write, the infirmities of near four-score years begin to press upon me, and to admonish me that I too must soon "put off this tabernacle."

My acquaintance with that great and good man began about sixty years ago, when he was the beloved and highly popular co-pastor of the Second Presbyterian church in the city of Philadelphia, and when I was a youthful student in the University of Pennsylvania. In the course of my connection with the University, I was a boarder in the family of a beloved sister, who was a worshipper in the church in which he preached, and in which, from that circumstance, as well as from choice, I was a constant hearer.

In a few months after I entered the University, I was seized with a severe inflammatory fever, which brought me very low, and confined me to the house for a number of weeks. In the course of this illness, Dr. Green, though I had no other claim upon him than being the son of a brother minister, and a boarder in the house of one of his flock, kindly and affectionately called, more than once, to see me, and conversed and prayed with me with a fidelity and tenderness which I shall never forget, and which marked, at that early period of his pastoral life, a sacred regard to his official duties, and a happy talent in the fulfilment of them.

Soon after I had completed my course in the University, this benevolent and devoted man, ever on the

watch to do good, having heard that I had resolved to engage in the study of theology with a view to the gospel ministry, wrote me a long, affectionate, and most instructive letter, filled with those large views of ministerial furniture and duty for which he was always remarkable, and written with that wisdom, piety, learning and kindness which were adapted at once to give light, and a happy impulse to an inexperienced, youthful student. I felt myself much his debtor for this act of friendship, and shall never cease to regard it with fervent gratitude.

When I became a preacher, he continued to manifest the same undiminished kindness on every practicable occasion. He took me by the hand with marked Christian affability and condescension, and seemed ever on the watch to promote the improvement and the usefulness of all on whom he had an opportunity of exerting influence; especially of all candidates for the sacred office, and youthful ministers. On that account, during the long continuance of his pastoral charge in Philadelphia, and the shorter period of my own in New York, I always considered my intercourse with Dr. Green as among the most decisively attractive and profitable that I could enjoy. I ever approached him as an elder brother, who was fervently pious, full of large and liberal views, richly furnished with ministerial gifts and graces, without suspicion or jealousy, and ever ready to impart all that he possessed for the benefit of others, and to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of all within his reach. I ever coveted the opportunity of spending an hour with him as an intellectual and moral

feast, from which, I should be wanting to myself, if I did not profit.

Dr. Green's pastoral relation to the Second church in Philadelphia commenced in the month of May, A. D. 1787. In the course of the next year, as before stated, I was led, in the providence of God, to take up my abode for a time in that city, as a student, and had much opportunity of enjoying his ministry. He was eminently popular. No minister in the city approached him in this respect. Crowds flocked to hear him, more than the place of worship could contain. His evening services especially were attended by all denominations; and that not once or a few times only, but from one year's end to another, and for a course of years, with unabating interest. And truly his discourses were so rich in weighty thought, so beautiful in their language, and so powerful in delivery, that they were well adapted to attract and gratify all hearers of intelligence and of pious taste.

The preaching, however, of this eminent man, in a few years after his settlement in the pastoral relation, underwent a gradual change. His pious friends remarked that, as his gifts and graces became more mature, his discourses were less laboured in respect to rhetorical ornament; but, at the same time, more rich in evangelical instruction, and more edifying in their experimental character. If they lost something of that ornament which had caused them to be applauded by admiring crowds, they gained in those more important characteristics which rendered them better adapted to convince and convert sinners, and to build up believers

in faith and holiness unto salvation. His earliest discourses were indeed well adapted to enlighten and gratify the pious, as well as those of a more literary taste; but as he grew in grace, and advanced in pastoral experience, his pulpit discourses became more and more adapted to feed the pious, while they were not less fitted to satisfy the most intelligent hearers. This, however, is saying no more than might naturally be expected from a man, as he was, evidently growing as a Christian, as well as in the furniture and vigour of his intellectual frame.

For the first five or six years of Dr. Green's pastoral relation to the Second church in Philadelphia, he had a colleague, the venerable Dr. Sproat. There is, perhaps, hardly any thing that puts a man's real spirit to a more decisive and even severe test, than being placed in this relation. An ambitious, encroaching, selfish man, can hardly ever sustain it, without bearing much discomfort himself, and inflicting quite as much, if not more, upon his colleague. The excellent man of whom I speak, had large experience of this relation in various forms, and in every case acquitted himself in a manner which manifested much amiableness of natural temper, as well as a large measure of the Christian spirit. With his first colleague, he served as a son with a father; without jealousy, without rivalry, and with the utmost cordiality of affection. With later colleagues, both of whom were much younger men than himself,* his

* The Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel, afterwards of New York, and long since deceased; and the Rev. Dr. Jacob J. Janeway, still surviving, in advanced life, and eminently useful, both from the pulpit and the press.

connection was no less affectionate and pleasant. He was so happy as to find in them men of an amiable temper, as well as an evangelical spirit; and his treatment of them was, throughout, such as might have been expected from a man who "preferred Jerusalem above his chief joy." The Rev. Dr. Janeway, the last of his colleagues, in the excellent sermon which he delivered at the funeral of his venerated friend, and which you had the privilege of hearing, gave an attestation in favour of his collegiate character of the most emphatic and touching kind.

But it was not only as a colleague that Dr. Green displayed peculiar force and elevation of character. From the time of his entrance on the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in 1787, for more than forty years together, he set an example of diligence and indefatigable labour in the service of the Church which can never be remembered without honourable and grateful acknowledgment. In all the great movements of his Church, during the period in question, whether in the cause of domestic or foreign missions, in securing the appropriate education of candidates for the holy ministry, or in promoting a system of evangelical literature for the benefit of the Christian community—in all, either in consultation or labour, and commonly in both, he might be said, without exaggeration, to be the master spirit to whom the whole Church was accustomed to look more than to any other individual. His commanding talents as a speaker in ecclesiastical judicatories; his strong good sense; his practical wisdom and prudence; and his power to influence and control public bodies, I need not dwell upon, because all who

knew the man, knew that in all these respects he was eminently distinguished.

In planning and establishing the Theological Seminary in this place, he took, as on every other great occasion, a leading part. He laboured indefatigably to pave the way for its establishment. He was the penman of its constitution. When it was organized, he was made the first President of its Board of Directors, and continued to occupy that station until his decease. He made a liberal donation of land by purchase, in addition to that made by the Hon. Richard Stockton, for the location of its public buildings. He was one of the most liberal contributors to the formation of its library, and might be said, more than other individual, to have been the father of the institution; for which he delighted to contrive, to labour, and to pray, as long as he lived.

When he consented to leave his beloved pastoral charge in Philadelphia, and to accept the presidency of the College of New Jersey, it fell to my lot to be much with him, and to have some agency in bringing about that removal; and I can in the most unequivocal manner, bear testimony that the consideration which appeared to govern him in making the change, was the hope of being able, under the divine blessing, to exert a religious influence on the College, and to be in some measure instrumental in making it subservient to its great original purpose, that of promoting learning in union with piety; and thus preparing an enlightened and devoted ministry for the service of the Church of Christ.

And, accordingly, no one acquainted with the history

and the fruits of his presidentship in that important institution can doubt that his hopes in this respect were, in a very happy degree, realized. The talent, the fidelity, and the success with which, for ten years, he filled that office, are too well known, and have been too emphatically acknowledged by the public voice to render any illustration necessary. He was the first head of a college in the United States who caused the Bible to be introduced as a subject of regular collegiate study. And this signal honour to the Word of God was soon followed by a revival of religion in the College, marked by a power, and a happy influence remembered to this day with deep interest. He also introduced a set of weekly lectures, happily adapted to engage the attention, and to imbue the minds of youth with divine knowledge, which gained a degree of attendance and popularity which has never been exceeded, if equalled, in any similar effort before or since. The incumbency of Dr. Green as the head of the College of New Jersey, will ever be considered by all competent judges as forming a memorable and highly important era in the history of that seat of learning.

In 1822, this venerable man thought proper, on account of his infirm health, and some peculiar circumstances in the state of the College, to resign the presidentship of the institution. He never afterwards assumed a stated charge of any kind; but retired to the city of Philadelphia, where he had so long resided, and where he had a large body of affectionate friends, who were glad to receive him, and to honour and render comfortable his declining years. Here he passed the remainder of his life; not in indolent indulgence, which

made no part of his character, but in preaching the gospel, whenever he had an opportunity, especially to the poor, from whom no remuneration was sought or expected; in preparing for the press several important works from his own pen; and in conducting a valuable periodical, the Christian Advocate, which extended to a number of volumes, and forms a permanent monument of his learned and pious industry.

For several years before the close of life, his infirmities rendered him incapable of any public labour; but even in this period of feebleness and decline, it is delightful to reflect that he was not idle. He was still employed in reading, in writing, and, above all, in those devotional exercises which seemed to form the very element of his soul, as he drew near to the consummation of his hopes and joys. At length, worn out with age and labours, he closed his career in the full sunshine of faith and hope, and entered, as we all confidently believe, on the joys of that Lord whose he was, and whom he had so long and faithfully served.

But there were several traits in the character of our departed father, best known to his intimate friends, which justice to his memory, and indeed, justice to ourselves, call upon us who survive him to notice, and to dwell upon somewhat in detail.

I. And the first of these which I desire to commemorate is, his ardent piety. To say simply, that a minister of the gospel is regarded as a pious man, is to say little. Without piety, he is nothing. He lacks the greatest glory of an ambassador of Christ. If I had not believed that in this part of the character of the venerable man before us, there was not only *sincerity*, but

pre-eminence; not only real piety, but piety of extraordinary elevation and power, I should not have referred to it distinctly at all. But my impression is, that ever since I have known him, his devotional habits were peculiar, and indicated an uncommonly deep and fervent piety. I was struck with this in all his habits and exhibitions of character. In his conversation; in his correspondence; in his mode of counselling those who were addressing themselves to the study of theology; nay, in the most casual and unreserved intercourses of society, he appeared the deeply spiritual, devoted man of God. As he advanced in life, this spirit seemed sensibly and prominently to gather strength. And with respect to the later years of his life, exercises of devotion occupied, I believe, the greater part of his time, and seemed to be the absorbing element of his soul. In regard to the service of the sanctuary, I know not that I ever saw any man who seemed to engage in public prayer with manifestations of more entire and cordial devotion. And to one point in this connexion, I think it my duty to say, in these days of sedentary sluggishness in public prayer, when so many of the young and the healthy are seen indolently lounging amidst the devotional exercises of the Lord's house, that the example of our departed father ought ever to shame them. I was never placed near him as a fellow-worshipper, without observing how uniformly, amidst all his bodily weakness, and sometimes when I knew that he was hardly able, without distress, to stand erect, he stood up, and maintained a posture of solemn reverence, and evidently joined, with a striking manifestation of fervour, in every petition. His joining in the public prayer

was no doubtful matter. Every one that saw him was satisfied that he was no cold or indifferent member of the assembly, but was absorbed in the exercise.

Accordingly, much intercourse with him for many years, warrants me in saying, that there was hardly any point concerning which he expressed more solicitude than the cultivation of vital piety among our candidates for the holy ministry. The pointed manner in which he introduced and dwelt upon this subject in penning the plan of our Seminary; the emphatic and solemn terms in which he urged it in all his addresses to the students; and the tender earnestness with which he adverted to it at every public and private opportunity, all testified the habitual anxiety of his mind on this subject. He ever contended for the importance, not merely of piety, but of ardent governing piety in the sacred office. He regarded and ever earnestly recommended it as the most precious element of comfort and strength amidst the self-denial and labours of the office; as the only solid and effectual basis of the best pulpit eloquence; and as the only scriptural pledge of success in attaining the great end of the office. It is pleasing to recollect what a happy comment on these often repeated sentiments was furnished by his own bright example.

II. The next trait in the character of this venerable man which I wish especially to commemorate, is his warm attachment to evangelical truth, and his fidelity in maintaining it from the beginning to the end of his course. Of this he gave so many public and strongly marked testimonies, that some who were imperfectly acquainted with his character, hastily imagined that

he was a bigoted sectarian. There never was a greater mistake. He was eminently a man of an enlarged and catholic spirit. He loved the image of Christ, and zeal for the doctrines of the gospel, under whatever name or form he found them. But in maintaining the doctrines and order of his own Church, to whose formularies he had solemnly subscribed, he set an example of noble fidelity and courage. With him, subscription to articles of faith, was not an act either of cold flexible politeness, or of calculating policy. He considered it as involving both an appeal to the heart-searching God, and a solemn pledge of fidelity to his Master in heaven. For this, I am aware, he has been sometimes reproached as a "heresy-hunter," by men of "ductile consciences," who were ready to subscribe to almost any form of words "for substance of doctrine." But the consistent and faithful lover of truth will honour him for it as long as his memory lasts.

Nor was this all, he was not only a zealous, steadfast, and persevering friend and advocate of evangelical truth; but his regard to the claims of all truth between man and man in the intercourse of life, was conspicuous and remarkable. I know not that I ever saw a man whose sensibility to the sacredness of truth, and whose rigid sacred care not to depart from it, were more vigilant and more scrupulous than his. He appeared to be, not only on his guard whenever he was called to state a fact, but to speak as if on oath. He seemed indeed to be habitually anxious that what he said, should, in all cases, express neither more nor less than the exact truth. For one so eminently intellectual, he was one of the most transparent men I ever

saw.. He was the very impersonation of honesty and candour. There was no concealment about him. Every one who had a desire to know, might always know, with unerring certainty where to find him. Of this I have seen instances so peculiar and so strongly marked, that they can never be effaced from my memory; and, in my opinion, ought never to be omitted in making an appropriate estimate of his character.

A remarkable instance of his perfect candour once occurred in the General Assembly. He was the proposer and leading advocate of a measure in that body which he deemed of great importance, and which he was very intent on carrying. In the course of a zealous and able speech which he made in its support, he mentioned, in detail, a number of the objections which had been made to the plan, most of which he had heard mentioned, and some of which had occurred to his own mind. Among the latter, he mentioned one objection, truly formidable, which, he said, he had never heard mentioned; but which had occurred to himself, and which he thought it his duty candidly to state and answer. After the vote was taken, which resulted in the adoption of his proposed measure, one of its most zealous opponents said to him, "Doctor, I wondered a little that you were so free in bringing forward so many objections to your measure; especially the one which you mentioned as being the weightiest in your own view. I had never heard of it before you mentioned it; and I verily think if you had kept that out of view, you would have gotten a far greater majority." The Doctor replied, "My friend, I know it. But I would far rather have lost my cause than gained it by conceal-

ment, or any thing approaching to deception. I determined, therefore, to run the risk of losing all rather than to keep any thing back that might lead to a full and candid view of the subject."

I was always very forcibly struck with the character of Dr. Green's speeches in the General Assembly, and the other higher judicatories of the Church. In the debates in all deliberative bodies, and even in those of the Church, it is too common to witness the use of weapons which all sanctified feeling ought to proscribe; the weapons of ridicule, of sarcasm, of recrimination, and such over-painting in the warmth of debate, as amounts to real exaggeration. I have never known the venerated subject of this letter on any occasion to employ any of these weapons. He was ever grave, dignified, respectful, and as fair as candour itself could dictate. I do not remember ever to have heard him, however ardently engaged in pleading a favourite cause, make an exaggerated statement. Here, as in every other case, he seemed to speak as if on oath—with the most scrupulous care not to transcend the truth.

Perhaps I ought here not to omit taking notice of one fact, or of what I suppose to be a fact, growing out of the sacred regard to truth which this venerable and excellent man ever manifested. If I mistake not, this scrupulous care to avoid every expression which approached to an invasion of the strictest truth, has impressed itself on his *style of writing*. His style, it appears to me, is less terse, pointed, and fluent on that account; more encumbered with exceptions, qualifying clauses, softening expressions, and circuitous statements, than is desirable. We always read his writings with

approbation of the just sentiments and the vigorous thinking which they indicate; but sometimes feeling as if the writer would have attained a still more spirited and nervous style, if he had been less painfully scrupulous in weighing every sentence which he penned in the scales of the strictest historical verity.

III. Our departed father set us a noble example of prompt and punctual response to all the claims of justice and of charity which were presented to him. I know not that I ever knew a man more punctiliously observant of that inspired precept, owe no man any thing, but to love one another. No man's due was ever kept back by him one hour after he knew that it was due. He was ready to submit to any self-denial rather than allow of this. Of this habit his whole life was a uniform exemplification; and his last days furnished a remarkable and most graphic example.

His freedom from a mercenary spirit was remarkable and edifying. The lust of accumulating property, what has been emphatically called "the dollar mania," made no part of his character. His aims in this respect were ever marked by moderation. At the same time his responses to the claims of charity were ever prompt and liberal. Though his pecuniary resources were never ample, and, toward the close of life, were rather restricted, he was always ready and free in his contributions for the Redeemer's kingdom, and in responding to all the reasonable calls of benevolence. It was no uncommon thing for him, with his small means, to subscribe more largely to important objects of Christian benevolence, than many of the far more wealthy professors of religion around him. Nay, on

one occasion, his donation to an important object was so disproportionably great, so far beyond what his friends thought reasonable, that one of them, a distinguished worldly man of great wealth, who had himself subscribed largely, but less, to the same object, said of him, in my hearing, "If he is not restrained, he will give away his whole property, even all his living." He was accustomed to say, that a man ought to be the dispenser of his charities in person during his life, and not leave this important work to be done less judiciously, by his successors.

IV. I have only to add, that our departed father ever manifested a remarkable freedom from jealousy or suspicion toward those with whom he was called to labour. There is a class of little men, ever haunted with visions of jealousy and suspicion; fancying in every movement of those around them something intended to interfere with their plans of gain, of ambition, or of aggrandizement; or to bear away something that belongs to them: who see no evil in any thing which they can bend to their selfish purposes, and no good in any thing which they cannot so bend; in short, whose every plan is a calculation of practical egotism; and whose minds are ever teeming with apprehension of sinister designs toward themselves on the part of others. Such men, whether found in the ranks of the Christian ministry or elsewhere, are greatly to be pitied, as the worst enemies to their own peace, and as utterly unfit to co-operate with others, however disinterested and unsuspecting. Amidst all their suspicions they forget to suspect themselves. Perhaps no eminent man, surrounded as he was, with official honours and responsi-

bilities, and in contact with his brethren in so many points, was ever more free from this unhappy spirit. Being wholly without sinister designs himself, he was never ready to suspect others of such designs. No one, I will venture to say, ever knew him to turn away from any worthy person, or promising plan, from an apprehension of its interference with his own elevation or prerogatives. It was ever enough to insure his favour to any proposal or scheme, that it promised to promote the extension of truth, and the honour of his Master in heaven.

Such are some of my recollections of the departed friend and father, whose demise has awakened so many feelings of tender veneration; and such is my estimate of his character. He was a large-minded, heavenly-minded, wise, prudent, active, industrious, indefatigable labourer in the vineyard of his Lord. I feel myself largely a debtor to his memory for many a lesson of wisdom, and many a bright example of holiness. When he was taken up into heaven, I never felt more disposed to cry out, in the language of Elisha, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" O that the mantle of this great and good man might fall, not on one only, but upon all the ministry of our beloved Church! Farewell! beloved and honoured father, farewell! We shall see thee again, not enfeebled by age, and emaciated by disease, as when we took leave of thee; but renovated and adorned with immortal youth, clothed with a body like to the Redeemer's glorified body, divested of all imperfection, and showing death completely swallowed up in victory. May you and I, my dear brother, through the riches of

sovereign grace, be humble partakers in the end, of the same victory! And may you be enabled to discharge the responsible duty which the providence of God has devolved upon you, of giving to the public the life of this venerated man, in such a manner as to render that work a rich and permanent blessing to all his successors in the sacred office who shall read it!

So prays your sincere friend and brother in Christian bonds,

SAMUEL MILLER.

Princeton, September 25, 1848.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

IN supplying those parts of a biography which could not be furnished by a writer of his own, there is occasion to mention the qualities of his mind and heart, to offer an estimate of his talents, usefulness, success, and define his position in public esteem. But the copious responses of those friends whose letters we have solicited, have so fully and satisfactorily performed this important service in our behalf, that we oblige the reader, not less than ourselves, by substituting, so far as we can, their papers and sentiments in the place of our own. And it is interesting to notice how all of those who knew him personally, or who became acquainted with him through the medium of his writings and acts, have agreed in making a similar estimate of the general characteristics of his mind, and of those capacities, both natural and acquired, in which his great strength and usefulness mainly consisted. Without the possession of that undefined and often misconceived something called genius, which is displayed as often in ways that deprave mankind as in those that enlighten, reform, and exalt them; without the powers of fancy and wit for those occasional exhibitions of "the sublime and beautiful" which generate a meteor-like popularity among the multitude; the mind of Dr. Green was characterized rather by the more important and useful qualities of sound judgment, correct taste, and an extraordinary share of

common sense. His diligence in study from childhood, had made him more or less familiar with every department of secular and religious knowledge, which he had occasion to apply in the several positions of usefulness which he was called to sustain. He read the Greek and Latin classics, and the Scriptures both Hebrew and Greek, critically. His reading was extensive and miscellaneous, as is evinced in the rich pages of the Advocate. As a writer, his style is not unlike that of his model Dr. Witherspoon, remarkably perspicuous, showing a clear perception of his subject; it is chaste, wholly free from all that is quaint, affected, foreign and barbarous. The grand quality of Dr. Green's style may be said to have been strength; by means of which, even when the thought was familiar, it was carried to the mind with unusual condensation and force. Some of his reviews are models of that kind of writing which form so large a part of the ephemeral literature of the age; and which, unhappily, able but vindictive critics so often use for the basest of purposes. Of the numerous sermons which he published, there are none which exhibit more of the preacher's excellency in this department of composition, than the volume of discourses addressed to the students of the College of New Jersey. His Lectures on the Shorter Catechism, however, are probably the most useful and generally popular of all his instructive works. After publishing the first series of these Lectures in the Christian Advocate, they were suspended for a time, when, at "the earnest request of friends in various parts of the country," they were resumed and continued through a second series, and then published in two volumes. We do not doubt

that those who adopt Dr. Green's "views of the Calvinistic doctrines," will concur in the opinion expressed on page 318 of the autobiography, that "the publication of these Lectures was one of the most important services he ever rendered to the church of Christ."

His preparations for the pulpit were made with great care and much study. It was his custom to write his discourses in full, and have his manuscript before him when he was delivering its contents; the most important portions of which he usually committed to memory. What were the fascination and power of his eloquence may be inferred, not only from the large and crowded assemblies that it attracted, but from the lively impressions that remain to the present on the minds of many who remember him in the days of his strength and popularity. The reader of the preceding narrative will have already formed his opinion of the general character of his ministry, the nature, number, variety and difficulty of his labours, and cannot fail to see in Dr. Green himself an exemplification of the preacher and pastor so graphically described in the interrogatories of his "Exhortation to the people of his congregation on resigning the pastoral charge." Without presuming to dictate a "line of conduct," or control their minds in the choice of a successor, he ventures to recommend that on selecting the man by whose ministry they and their children were to receive the dispensation of the gospel, infinitely momentous in its consequences, they should make the following inquiries: First, concerning his piety.

"Is he not only a man of real religion, but is he eminent and exemplary in religion? What is his character

as to orthodoxy? Is he not only considered as generally sound in the faith, but is he free from all suspicious peculiarities, which often increase with time, and at length, in some cases, prove infinitely mischievous? What is the complexion of his public discourses? Does he preach in such a general and equivocal manner that you cannot clearly discover his sentiments and system? Or does he bring forward plainly, fully, and frequently, the great and distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, illustrate them perspicuously and distinctly, and apply them powerfully and pungently, and yet discreetly and judiciously, to the hearts and consciences of his hearers? Is he in the habit of digesting well what he delivers from the pulpit? Or are his addresses extemporaneous, loose, rambling, incorrect, and incoherent? Does he instruct and reason in his sermons? Or is he only, or chiefly a declaimer? Has he a suitable variety in the topics which he discusses? Or are his discourses all of one kind, and in the same strain? Will he be likely to declare to you, "the whole counsel of God" without reserve, or timidity? Is his manner of address in the pulpit agreeable and interesting, and sufficiently popular? Is he a man of a fertile mind? Or is he only a plodder and imitator of others? What is the measure of his general talents and furniture? Has he a considerable fund of knowledge—especially of theological knowledge? Does he make theological attainments the chief object of his pursuit; or is the study of divinity only a by-business with him, while his time and attention are principally given to general science, or to some object not immediately connected with his professional calling? Is he a diligent and laborious man, who may

be expected to make improvements, or at least to continue to do as well, throughout his ministry, as he does at first? Is he likely to adorn and recommend religion, by showing that his practice, out of the pulpit, is governed and directed by the doctrines which he delivers in it? What is his natural temper, and what are his social habits? Is he affable and courteous, conciliating and accommodating, and yet firm and unwavering? Is he a prudent and discreet man; or is he heedless, harsh, rash, hasty, irritable, resentful, offensive, or intrusive? Will he be able and disposed to take his part in endeavouring to promote the general interests of religion, and of our Church?"

Comparatively few of Dr. Green's public services were wholly extemporaneous. Even his prayers were generally premeditated or written, and if not committed to memory, were made familiar to his mind, especially when he was called to officiate on occasions of peculiar interest and importance; deeming it to be not less presumptuous to neglect due preparation for leading the devotional exercises of an assembly, than for expounding and enforcing the Scriptures.*

But in no position did Dr. Green appear to more advantage, nor exhibit more of his strength and superiority than in the public assemblies of the Church, in which, for many years, his influence was dominant. His readiness and tact in preparing papers, constructing resolutions, writing reports, &c., was pre-eminent. His knowledge of every subject of discussion and legislative action seemed to be thorough and almost intuitive. His punctuality and constancy in attending

* Appendix, I.

the courts of the Church, his close and conscientious application to whatever was to be done, gave him great familiarity with her authoritative decisions or precedents, and furnished him for any emergency that might occur in her progressive history. It was not his custom to say much during the developement of the question before the house, but to wait till all had spoken who desired it; nor did he rise, till just before the matter was to be submitted for decision. It then became manifest that he had listened closely to all that had been said, when in a brief, condensed, and lucid speech, he first dispelled the mist that had been raised by the misconceptions, specious and unsound reasoning of others; then selected the strong and tenable points of the subject, and defended them with an array of facts, and a cogency of argument which rarely failed to decide the question in debate, and very often to convince the minds of some of his most zealous opposers.

In his private life, the various domestic relations of husband, father, brother, son, master, &c., Dr. Green was uniformly affectionate, conscientious and faithful. His attachment to his friends was sincere and ardent; nor could any accuse him of having changed his mind and withdrawn his confidence without a sufficient cause. His sorrow under his successive bereavements was very great, although his habitual sense of the presence and providence of God gave him an equanimity in times of trial, which sometimes savoured of a want of sensibility to those who did not know him. That severity of manner which was at times apparent in his intercourse with the officious and troublesome in public, was softened into gentleness and an unre-

served relaxation of feeling and conversation in private. Not that it was in his nature to unbend after the manner of some, who have the happy faculty of playing the child in the circle of their little ones, without jeopardizing the influence and dignity of the parent. But he was gentle, accessible, and so condescending, that he not only won, but retained the strongest affections of those who were around and near him.

As allusion has been made in a former place to the person of Dr. Green, it may be interesting to some of our readers to add, that he was endowed by nature with a commanding "bodily presence," the reverse of that which was ascribed to the apostle to the gentiles. The impression conveyed by his entire appearance was that of strength, boldness, and decision; and as a correspondent observes, "when in his prime, he was as conspicuous a person as walked the streets of Philadelphia. His features were strong, his nose aquiline and prominent, but the great feature was his eye; it was very dark, piercing, and imperative; in my youth, I thought it the most formidable I ever saw. The prevalent expression of Dr. Green's face, as of his general manner, was that of honest, fearless determination and assurance. It took but little to make this a forbidding frown, but it could also relax into a pleasing smile, in which the twinkle of the eye was very engaging. In later years, the latter greatly predominated; but in my childhood, in common with other young persons, I looked upon him with fear. Dr. Green and Dr. Livingston wore the last of the clerical wigs which I remember. Dr. Green's was large and spreading down to his shoulders, with heavy

curls; it was always powdered in the day when powder was worn. Conforming, however, to the change of mode, Dr. Green gradually reduced the dimensions of the wig, till at length it had little that was distinctive. In the pulpit, his form and face naturally acquired more dignity and energy; indeed these were very great, so that his more finished sermons were delivered with a bodily vehemence, or what Cicero calls the *sermo corporis*, much beyond any thing we now observe in our pulpits. On these occasions, his eye was penetrating and alarming. I have often seen him, however, subdued into the gentlest modes of human aspect."

CHAPTER XXIX.

AT the commencement of our editorial service, it occurred to us, that any memoir of Dr. Green would be incomplete without the contribution of his surviving colleague, who for so many years enjoyed his confidence and affection, as well as shared in his labours. Not having seen the autobiography of his venerable friend, he has mentioned here and there an incident which will have already met the eye of the reader; but the following excellent letter of Dr. Janeway will be read with an interest not at all impaired by what has gone before it.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

Considering the relation and friendship that had so long subsisted between the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green and myself, I could not hesitate a moment in resolving to comply with your request.

Last August, half of a century lacking three months had elapsed, since my first acquaintance with our deceased friend in 1798. From the beginning of the year 1799, we laboured together as colleagues, in the pastoral charge of the Second Presbyterian church in Philadelphia more than thirteen years, till his pastoral relation to that church was dissolved, in consequence of his appointment to the presidency of the College of

New Jersey; and, from that time till the day of his death, a friendship and intimacy that had never been interrupted, continued to exist. I well knew and loved the man whose character I now attempt to sketch. I wish it were in abler hands. What shall be written, although intended as a tribute of friendship and affection to his memory, yet shall be, as far as the writer can make it, strictly true, and free from exaggeration.

HIS PERSON.

In stature Dr. Green was of the middle size, but portly; having features well formed, a florid complexion, enlivened with dark, brilliant eyes; he was, in his youth, handsome. In subsequent life he lost his florid complexion, and became somewhat corpulent. He still retained a commanding appearance.

HIS INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

The intellectual powers of Dr. Green were of a high order. By his Creator he was endowed with a strong, vigorous, and comprehensive mind. Of this he gave early indications. When he graduated in the College of New Jersey, he stood first in his class, and had assigned to him the valedictory oration; and had the honour of making an address to the father of his country, George Washington; who was so pleased with it, that when he afterwards met the youth in the College building, he thanked him for his address. Shortly afterwards he received the honour of an invitation to dine with congress, who were at that time at Princeton.

Having graduated, he was, in 1783, chosen tutor in the College; and, in 1785, professor of mathematics and

natural philosophy. In this office he continued till 1787, when he became colleague of the Rev. Dr. Sproat, in the pastoral charge of the Second Presbyterian church. By the University of Pennsylvania he was, at an early age, honoured with the degree of D. D.; and, when President of the College of New Jersey, he received from the University of North Carolina the degree of LL.D. These honours were so many testimonials of the high estimation which had been formed, by those who knew him, of his intellectual powers.

The character of his mind is impressed on his writings. His lectures on the Shorter Catechism, the sermon on the union of science and religion, which he prepared and published while President of the College of New Jersey, and the Christian Advocate, a religious periodical, which he, for a number of years, conducted with so much ability and usefulness, will long remain clear proofs that he possessed a mind of high order.

Endowed with such strong and vigorous intellectual powers, it is natural to suppose his influence in the different ecclesiastical bodies with which he was connected, was great. It was; and he used it without any display. In fact, from the constitution of the General Assembly in 1788 to the day of his death, he was identified with the Presbyterian Church. It will be seen hereafter, that, if he did not originate all the great and leading measures adopted by her highest court, he bore in them an important share of agency. As an evidence of his influence in our ecclesiastical judicatories, let me recite this anecdote. While an important measure was under debate in the General Assembly, the Doctor, who had been only an observer,

obtained a seat in the house by the resignation of the principal in the commission. He soon arose, and made a motion that gave to the discussion a new and important turn. Doctor Speece of Virginia, who was sitting beside me, said to me, "See the influence of that man. He rises and makes a motion, and without offering a single argument, takes his seat, and his motion is carried."

Endowed with eloquent speech, as well as with such force and vigour of mind, the Doctor was a powerful debater. The necessity of guarding the Presbyterian Church against the danger to which it was exposed, from the introduction of unworthy ministers and licentiates from foreign countries, had been felt by the old Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and afterwards by the General Assembly; which induced the latter body, in 1798, to adopt certain regulations on this subject. The next year the Presbytery of New York sent a request to the General Assembly to re-consider and rescind those regulations. The request was advocated powerfully by the Rev. Dr. Rodgers of New York, and Dr. McWhorter of Newark, both men of high standing and much influence in the Church. They were met on the floor by Dr. Green, who, by his eloquence and strength of argument, won the day. The justification of the rules recorded in the Digest, (p. 285), was penned by Dr. Green. The next year, the Assembly having reviewed and amended the rules of 1798, adopted those wise and salutary "*Regulations relating to Foreign Ministers and Licentiates*," which have continued to the present day to govern the judicatories in receiving foreign ministers and licentiates.

The same able pen was employed in draughting these rules. Digest, pp. 280—285.

FIRMNESS AND DECISION.

Dr. Green was characterized by much firmness and decision. This trait of character appeared in early life. The boys in a school, connected with the College of New Jersey, were so unruly that they drove their teacher from the ground. In this emergency, Dr. Witherspoon, the President, who knew the character of his young friend, requested him to take charge of the school. He consented. The boys, determining to treat their new teacher as they had treated their former instructor, soon contrived to break a bench with a great noise. Young Green discerned the ringleader. Without taking any notice of their misconduct, he merely directed them to remove the broken parts, and procure other accommodations. When the hour for dismissing the school had arrived, assuming a convenient place for his purposes, as the leader in the mischief was passing out, tripping up his heels, by a stroke aside his head he brought him to the floor. This decisive measure and just chastisement operated like a charm. The spirit of insubordination was broken and humbled. Order was restored. The boys became submissive and respectful to their new teacher.

On one occasion, while Philadelphia was the seat of government, and Dr. Green chaplain, the senate being called to order for prayer, he saw a senator still sitting and engaged in writing. Determined to exact at least external reverence for that Almighty Being they were about to worship, he stood silent till the

senator, startled by the prolonged silence, arose upon his feet, and assumed a becoming attitude. He then proceeded to offer prayer.

John Adams, the elder, President of the United States, applied to Dr. Green to write for him a proclamation, recommending to the people the observance of a day of humiliation and prayer. Having consented to do what was requested by the Chief Magistrate, he determined to write one that would correspond with the character of a President professing religion, and set over a Christian nation. Accordingly he contrived to bring out in the proclamation an acknowledgment of the leading doctrines of the gospel; and what was remarkable, although it passed through the hands of Timothy Pickering, who was then Secretary of State, and believed to be a Unitarian, it was published as written, without any alteration. The proclamation created surprise and admiration. The party opposed to Mr. Adams' administration, thought it too good to come from his pen. They suspected the author; and one of them, a minister of the gospel, determined to discover the truth, came to his colleague and proposed a question so adroitly, that his silence satisfied him of the fact.*

When the news of the death of General Hamilton, who unhappily fell in a duel with Aaron Burr, reached Philadelphia, it produced a great sensation among the citizens. A public meeting was called to do honour to his memory. Resolutions were accordingly adopted and published in the newspapers; and among them one

* Appendix, K.

calling on the clergy to notice the sad occurrence in their sermons on the coming Sabbath, with a view to eulogize that great man. Dr. Green immediately saw the impropriety of the resolution; and, with a view to extricate the clergy from the snare laid for them, and to save them from doing any thing unbecoming that holy religion of which they were the appointed teachers, he took measures for assembling them in a public meeting for consultation on what was proper to be done in the emergency. Resolutions were adopted and published to counteract the injurious effect that was likely to result from the resolutions adopted by the meeting of the citizens, and to set every minister free from the ensnaring influence he might have felt in conducting the services of the coming Sabbath. Every minister was left to act as his conscience might dictate to be right; to notice the death of that great man or not; and, if he should choose to notice it, to do just as he deemed duty demanded. The writer determined to avail himself of the opportunity the sad occurrence afforded, for reprobating, in the course of his sermon on the Sabbath, the vile and barbarous practice of duelling. He has no recollection of his colleague's having taken any notice of the event in his discourse.

In the year 1800, Dr. Green travelled for his health to the Sweet Springs in Virginia, where he remained for some time. While there, he determined to sustain his character as a Christian minister. He felt it proper that infirm mortals, seeking health from fountains God had been pleased to open and render medicinal, should acknowledge his bounty, and their dependence on Him for the blessing they sought. He therefore resolved it

was becoming him as a minister, to propose, with consent of the company, to offer prayer to God at their public meals. His wishes were gratified. The company readily assented to the proposal. It is remarkable that Dr. Green received considerable aid, in the accomplishment of his pious purpose, from Major —, a gambler. That man would call the company to order; knocking loudly on the table, he would say, "Dr. Green will ask a blessing." So accustomed had they become to the religious ceremony, that no one would take his seat at the table till the arrival of this man of God; or, if he were prevented by indisposition, till it was announced he would not be present.

The firmness and decision of Dr. Green were manifested in the mode in which he conducted the revival of religion, which it pleased God to vouchsafe to the College of New Jersey, under his administration. This blessed and powerful work of divine grace, productive of such precious and lasting blessings, occurred in the year 1815. Knowing the excitement which often attends revivals of religion, and how artful and watchful Satan is in his attempts to pervert and give them a wrong direction, by working on the passions of the awakened at such times; and especially how much reason there was to apprehend danger of disorder occurring, in a revival among a number of young men, associated together in a college building, he prudently and wisely gave the students his matured counsels and directions. The propriety and wisdom of these, even pious youth were not prepared to see, and duly appreciate. They seemed cold and unsuited to the occasion. The remark was made, "Dr. Green has brought us

down to *zero*." But they soon after became convinced how wise and salutary were his counsels and directions. As these may appear in his autobiography, it is unnecessary for me to go into particulars.*

His views of a revival of religion are well expressed in a letter I received from him, subsequently to that blessed work which had been carried on by the Holy Spirit among the youth of the College. It is dated Princeton, February 29, 1816.

"My Dear Brother—Few things could interest me more than to hear of the favourable appearances of religion in the congregations of which I was once a pastor; and few things could give me more concern than to learn that such crude and unscriptural notions as those you have specified, are entertained by some of those who will be looked to as spiritual guides to inquiring souls. What is a revival of religion, as we understand the phrase? It is nothing more or less than a large number of individuals being brought, by the Spirit of all grace, to possess those views and exercises at one and the same time, which are possessed by here and there an individual, at almost all times, in places where the gospel is faithfully preached. In a revival of religion a hundred converts are perhaps made in a single congregation in a few weeks or months. In the same space, at another time, only a single convert is made. But are the exercises of the converts made at these different times different from each other? No; in all material respects they are precisely the same. There is not one method of bringing souls to Christ in a

* Appendix, L.

revival of religion, and another method when there is no revival. We know, indeed, that there is a great variety in the manner in which the Spirit operates on the minds of different individuals; and of course, in the order of their exercises. But this variety is as great in a season of revival as in any other circumstances. From all this it follows, that inquiring souls are to be dealt with in a revival of religion precisely in the same manner as at any other time; the same instruction and advice, the same counsel and caution are to be given; and the minister of the gospel who is competent to do it in ordinary times, is competent also in these times that are extraordinary. He has the same work to do in both cases. The only difference is, that in the latter case he has much more of this work than in the former. As to not preaching the gospel in a time of revival, meaning by the gospel here, I suppose, the method of obtaining pardon, peace and comfort, through the Lord Jesus Christ, it is the most absurd, extraordinary, and abominable dogma, that I ever heard of. It is not only an error, but a dangerous and horrible mistake. To what purpose is the law ever preached, but that it may prove a schoolmaster to bring the soul to Christ? And when the soul has been taught in this school, when it is rendered deeply and painfully sensible of its depravity, pollution, guilt and danger, and when all this has been done that it may be rendered sensible of its perishing need of a Saviour, and so be brought to him, to say that in these circumstances, it is not to be pointed to the Saviour, is unquestionably not only one of the greatest absurdities which language can express, but one of the most cruel and awful falsehoods that can

be uttered. It is in a time of revival, above all others, that the gospel, emphatically so called, ought to be preached. The gospel is good news. To whom? To none surely so much as to those who are inquiring almost with agony, 'What shall we do to be saved?' When this question was asked of the apostles, on the day of Pentecost, and by the trembling jailor of Paul and Silas, what did they say? Did they go on to preach terror, and to denounce the curses of the law. No, assuredly. They knew their business better; they preached the gospel; they said, 'Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is to you and to your children,' &c. 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house. And they spake unto them the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house.' Here is the highest authority, the authority of inspiration. To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to these, it is because there is no light in them. And I think it is worth while to observe, that on one of the occasions I have mentioned, there was a general revival of religion, the most remarkable one that ever took place; and on the other occasion, that an individual only was wrought upon. Yet, as I have remarked, the advice and direction given was the same. I not only admit, but desire for ever to remember, and as far as I have influence, to engage others to remember, that it is indeed a dreadful thing to daub with untempered mortar, to speak peace when there is no peace, to flatter men that they are in a safe state, when they, as

yet, have neither any just view of their guilt and pollution as sinners, nor have experienced, in any degree, the exercise of that faith by which the soul is vitally united to the Lord Jesus Christ. The greatest possible care should be taken to avoid this evil. Men should be exhorted and assisted to dig deep for a safe foundation on which to build their eternal hope. But after all, what is the foundation? The apostle tells us, 'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' Surely no one can wish that people should be alarmed and distressed with a view either to keep them a long time in that state, or that they should for ever, or even for a season, lie down in despair. The design of the law is to prepare men for the gospel. The design of wounding the conscience is, that it may be healed by the blood of Christ. I repeat it, let us be careful that the work be thorough; but if so, the sooner the awakened find peace in Christ, the better. A believer has not finished his work when he first gets some comfortable views of Christ; he has only begun the work. He will be getting clearer views of sin, exercising a deeper repentance, and growing in humility while he lives. I have said, that a season of revival is specially the season for preaching the gospel. And this is my deliberate opinion. But I have two remarks to add to this. The first is, that I think the preaching of the gospel, strictly so called, is often the most powerful means of affecting hardened sinners, not excepting infidels, that could be used; often more so than all the terrors of the law; though I am by no means opposed to preaching these terrors, in their due proportion. They certainly ought to be so

preached. But if I were going to preach to a group of profligates and infidels, I know not a text in the New Testament that I would sooner take than this, 'Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.' And experience shows incontestably that such texts and subjects, more frequently than any others, are blessed to melt and change the hardest hearts. The other remark is, that in a season of revival, I by no means wish to be understood as stating that nothing ought to be preached but what is, in a restricted sense, called the gospel. Warning against delay, against grieving the Spirit of grace, against turning back to perdition, against a false hope and a false peace, and against sinking into despondence and despair, and against the various artifices of the great adversary of souls, ought to be frequently and faithfully given. Indeed, the various topics of practical religion ought all to take their turn of discussion; though all with some special reference to the existing state of things. This was the course pursued here in our revival by Drs. Alexander and Miller and myself. In our revival there was considerable variety in the manner in which different individuals were exercised. Some had more terror and some less. But in general, it was rather a weighty sense of sin than awful terrors, that took possession of the minds of the awakened. The individual who (as far as I know,) had the greatest terror and anguish of mind, was the first and most awful example of backsliding and apostasy.

"I am truly sorry to hear that you have revived among you the foolish and unprofitable question, whether the unregenerate ought to pray, and whether they

ought to be exhorted to do so. I call it a foolish, as well as an unprofitable question; for I really think it so. None of us, I presume, would exhort men to pray insincerely; and none, I would hope, would advise them to wait till they are satisfied that they are regenerated before they attempt to pray. What then? Only this, all men are to be exhorted to pray immediately, with all the earnestness and sincerity possible, in the very best manner they can.

“My dear brother, be steadfast in the truth as it is in Jesus. Set your face against all novelties and innovations. They are the follies and fancies of a day. The Lord be with you. Adieu. Let me hear from you soon.”

The trait in the character of our departed friend, of which I speak, was severely tried by the rebellion that most unexpectedly occurred among the students in 1817. In a letter addressed to me, Princeton, February 7, 1817, it is thus described:

“My dear brother—I received your favour of yesterday by post, and I thank you for it. My trials, in consequence of the late riots, have, indeed, been great. But the same good God who has led me and sustained me my life long until now, has, in this late emergency, sustained me beyond all my hopes. It is truly a good thing to have a God to go to. He is, verily, a very present help in time of trouble. So I have found him. I hope that you, and my other praying friends, do not forget me. Nothing was ever more unlooked for than the late explosion. A week before it happened, I verily believed that the College was never in a more prosperous state, except that we had no revival of religion. But many

were not only praying for that, but expecting it; and, in point of perfect order, even the winter that we had the revival, was not so satisfactory. It was in these circumstances that the dark and diabolical plot was ripening. All the complaints that they now affect to make about grievances, are a mere pretence. Some of them have not the shadow of truth to support them, and none have more than the shadow. They have been hunted up and fixed on since, and a little before the riots, in order to have something to say to their parents and the public. No, my dear sir, the real cause was, a deep and deadly hatred to our whole system in the ringleaders and planners of the plot. Concealing this, they worked on individuals as occasion served. Was there a student who was a bad scholar, and in danger of being turned back, he was taken in to avoid that disgrace. Was there one who loved dissipation, he was persuaded to join, in hope of compelling us to relax our discipline. Was there one who was known to be profane and a hater of all religious exercises, he was made a party, in expectation of being delivered from what he hated. Had a student been reprovved personally, he was persuaded to enlist, that he might have vengeance. Was there a class that thought their lessons were too long, all in it who hated study, and all who had not the best talents were urged to resist, under the idea that they were oppressed. It is only wonderful that, considering their art and address, they did not seduce more; for, after all, their corps did not exceed thirty out of more than one hundred and thirty, of which the College consisted. If the orderly students had known their strength, they would have turned them

out of the house themselves. But no man knew his fellow, nor how far the defection had extended, such had been the secrecy of the transaction; and the rioters were doubly and trebly armed beforehand, they had a pistol, a dirk, and a sword-cane. This enabled them to keep possession of the house for thirty-six hours. To have obtained it by force would, in all probability, have been attended by the shedding of blood; and I rejoice that it was not attempted. I gradually drew off the virtuous students; and then the rioters, when they found they were likely to be left alone, were panic-struck, and got out of the house as fast as they possibly could. We seized seven, and have bound them over for trial under bail of five hundred dollars each. It is a matter much to be regretted that — and — escaped. Except during the thirty-six hours I have mentioned, the discipline of the College was maintained perfectly. It is now quite as strict as it ever was; and, with the divine assistance, it shall remain so. But, my dear sir, it must at last remain with the Board of Trustees whether they will maintain this system or not; and I am by no means clear whether a number of them will not wish and endeavour to relax it. Of one thing, however, I am confident, and that is, that no relaxation whatever, short of allowing every student to be as vicious as he pleases, and as idle, too, will give satisfaction. Any system whatever which requires study, order, morals, and reverence for religion, will be offensive to these licentious youth, even though an angel administered it; nay, it would be the more offensive on that very account, because the administration would be perfect; for in proportion to its being perfect must be the offence. The

high reputation of the College at the time the riot broke out, is an undeniable proof that the public sentiment favored the administration which had preceded it. We had as many students as the College could hold, and a number of applications lying over till the next session. What will be the influence of this occurrence, time will decide. It is mortifying to me that a rebellion should have happened under my administration. But what community or what administration can plead an exemption? You know that Washington's administration was not free from it; nay, we know that there was a rebellion in heaven itself."

HIS PIETY.

The intellectual powers of Dr. Green, being sanctified by the grace of God, were consecrated to the service of the great Giver, and employed in the way for which they were bestowed. He was not only pious, but eminently pious and devout.

In imitation of his teacher, Dr. Witherspoon, for whom he always entertained a high veneration, he observed the first Monday in every month as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. At what time he commenced this practice I do not know. The fact first came to my knowledge in 1802; when, during the prevalence of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, we were both staying at Mr. Ralston's country seat, Mount Peace, from which we went on the Sabbath and preached to that portion of our people who were willing to assemble in the church. He had, it is probable, commenced the habit years before; and I think he continued in it to the close of life.

Believing his diary contained some remarkable exercises of mind and heart, I was led, a few years before his death; to suggest to him the propriety of transcribing some portions of it. It was written in short-hand. I was desirous to have them transcribed, that any person who should undertake writing his life, might avail himself of such valuable materials. This was not assigned to him as a reason for my suggestion. He seemed not inclined to meet my wishes.

Three times in the day he retired to converse with his heavenly Father, by prayer and supplication, thanksgiving and praise. He took delight in availing himself of the great privilege which God has, in infinite mercy granted to his children, of holding communion with him in this gracious exercise. His love for social prayer was manifested by his inviting his ministerial brethren to meet at his house every Monday morning for the purpose of reading the Scriptures, offering united prayer to God, and singing his praises.

His eminent piety and wisdom were manifested by introducing the study of the Bible among the students in the College, and establishing a weekly religious lecture for their benefit. To him, it is believed, is due the honour of first introducing into college exercises the study of the sacred Scriptures. In this he has since been imitated by other colleges.

His piety produced its appropriate fruits. He was punctual in all his engagements, faithful to all his trusts, and remarkably careful in his pecuniary transactions. In 1836, while in connexion with the Reformed Dutch Church, the writer sent in a check, payable to the order of Dr. Green, three hundred dollars for the Western

Foreign Missionary Society, with no expectation of receiving a letter from him on that account. But, immediately after endorsing the check, and putting it into the hands of Mr. Lowrie, their Corresponding Secretary, he wrote me a note, in which, among other things, he said: "In all cases in which money is sent by letter, I hold it right, that when received it should be acknowledged without delay. This is my reason for troubling you with this note."

His piety prompted him to acts of charity. He was ready, according to his ability, to relieve the needy, and aid in the accomplishment of all benevolent purposes. In the distribution of his charity, he acted not from impulse, but from principle. He settled in his mind what proportion of his income he ought to consecrate to benevolent purposes. One-tenth he deemed the proper proportion for himself. By thus fixing it, he was enabled to give with more cheerfulness, with more judgment, and to a greater amount, than if he had left his charities to be determined as to amount by the applications that might be made. System is as important in charity as in business. On occasions he went beyond his rule. Warmly attached to the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and ardently desiring its enlargement and prosperity, he purchased and gave to the Trustees two acres of ground additional to what they held for that invaluable institution.

His eminent piety raised him above the temptations that prompt others of less integrity of mind to resort to unworthy management for attracting honours to themselves. To evince this, the following extracts from two letters, will be sufficient. In 1803 he was unanimously

elected, by the Trustees of New Jersey College, professor of theology in that institution. From Princeton, he thus, under date October 11, 1803, announced the fact to his colleague:

“I am now to mention to you an occurrence which has taken place here very unexpectedly to me, and which has caused me a good deal of anxiety. At the last meeting of the Board of Trustees of the College, they unanimously elected me to the office of professor of theology in the institution. You know that another person was contemplated. It was the opinion of a considerable majority of the Board, that his youth and some other considerations, (none of them, however, in the smallest degree derogatory to his character) rendered it improper to vest the office in him, and his name was not even mentioned in the Board. I had been cursorily spoken to, and I repelled the idea of accepting such an office, so decidedly and unequivocally, that when my name was mentioned in the corporation, it gave me both surprise and embarrassment. I told the Board that I withdrew my name; and this being objected to, I assured them that if I was elected it would be in the highest degree improbable that I should serve, and that I never would go farther than to submit the point of duty to the absolute decision of my Presbytery, and intimated that I was likely to decide against an acceptance myself, without even carrying it to Presbytery. In these circumstances, and by request, I withdrew from the Board, not knowing what they would do. A unanimous vote, as already stated, conferred the office on me; which was announced to me by a committee of the Board the next morning. Previously,

however, to my seeing the committee, Dr. McWhorter and Dr. Tennent had come to me, and with much earnestness entreated me not to give an immediate and flat refusal to the committee when they should announce my appointment, but consent to hold the matter for some time under consideration. To this I at length consented; protesting, at the same time, to them, and afterwards both to the committee and the Board, and that in the most explicit manner, that my present conviction was strong that I should never accept the office. In this situation of the business the Board dispersed. Since that time I have received a letter from Dr. Rodgers, warmly urging my acceptance, and others have spoken to me personally to the same effect. I have, however, as yet, given no encouragement. I state the subject to you for your information and your thoughts upon it. You are likewise at liberty to mention it to such of our charge and acquaintance as you think proper. In the mean time I shall say to you that my mind does not at all incline to an acceptance. But I am seeking and praying for light and direction."

Under date, Princeton, October 19, 1803, he wrote,

"My dear Colleague,—I received yesterday your favour of the 15th, for which I thank you. You certainly suggest some considerations in favour of my staying in Philadelphia, of which, without your assistance, I think I should have had no knowledge. On the other hand, I have been so pressed with considerations in favour of accepting the professorship, that at times I have scarcely known what to do or say. On the whole, however, I still think that the probability of my ultimately accepting it is as nothing. Yet, before

I make a final refusal, I determine to see and converse with the judicious people of our congregation who may fall in my way, and with some brethren of the Presbytery. As to the insinuation you mention, you were a little mistaken in supposing it excited much of my indignation. I rather pity and despise it. It so happens, that I am not only innocent of endeavouring to create this office for myself, but that this fact is fully known to every person acquainted with the business. After the first gentleman contemplated was out of the question, my earnest desire and endeavour was to have the whole concern postponed. Indeed it was my opinion from the very first, that there was too much precipitancy used; and I have, through the whole, refused all active agency in the affair. But placed as I am by a providential occurrence, and advised as I am by the most pious and venerable ministers of our communion, I shall certainly not permit any thing in the form of a threat to influence my conduct. If my people have so little confidence in me, or so little reason for their own conduct, as to quarrel with me merely for my election and consenting to think of a most important concern, it certainly is best I should leave them, and the separation on both sides will be easy. But I have no belief that this is the case generally; or, indeed, that it is so with any other than a few of those turbulent and unhappy spirits who have been trying to work mischief among us for several years. I never will do such injustice to a people whom I love with a tenderness that I shall never feel to another, and from whom I have received so many unequivocal proofs of attachment and kindness, as to believe, with-

out irresistible proof, that they have, without fault in me, withdrawn from me their confidence and their love; and, in this business, I know I am not blameable beyond those imperfections which attend all that we do. Still I thank you, my dear sir, for every word of your letter, and particularly for that part of it which has occasioned these remarks. I certainly ought, and as far as I can, in consistency with duty, I certainly will endeavour to save my friends the trouble of confuting calumny or indulging anxiety. I thought of enclosing for your perusal two letters which I have received from Dr. Rodgers of New York, and from which you would learn some of the many things that have been said to induce me to accept this new appointment. But as I expect to see you in a few days, I reserve the communication till that time."

DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

In these relations Dr. Green was exemplary. He had, in the course of his life, three excellent wives, with whom he lived as a Christian husband ought to live. The government of his children began very early, while they were yet in their mother's arms. To their religious education he paid particular attention; carefully instructing them in the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, and familiarizing their minds with that admirable compend of divine truth, the Shorter Catechism; the value of which to himself, even in advanced age, he acknowledged.

His eldest son, a promising youth, died just as he was entering on life; and his second, who had been a professor in the College of New Jersey while his father

was President of that institution, and who was afterwards professor of chemistry in Jefferson Medical College, departed this life before his aged parent. Two sons survive him; James S. Green, Esq. of Princeton, and his youngest son, Ashbel Green, Esq. now residing in Texas.

While he felt the obligations of a Christian parent to train up his children in the fear of God, and endeavoured to fulfil them, he was not unmindful of the spiritual interests of his domestics. Their benefit he promoted, not only by requiring their attendance on family worship, but by private counsel and instruction.

AS A PREACHER

Dr. Green was eminently qualified for preaching the gospel of Christ. This is evident from what has already been said of his intellectual endowments, of his devoted piety, and of his talent for public speaking. He loved the pulpit, and took great delight in dispensing from it divine truth. He preferred it above all other pursuits. His love for preaching is strongly expressed in the following extract from a letter dated Bristol, September 23, 1805.

“But though the waters are not useful, the exercise and country air and living have, I think, done me a good deal of service. My muscular strength has very evidently increased, my colour is better, and I have not as much dizziness in my head as when I came here. This old and inveterate enemy, however, remains in some force still; and I am occasionally subject to rheumatic or gouty pains, more violent than usual. This, as near as I can describe it, is my true situation: To-

morrow, God willing, I set out for Commencement, and the day after it is over I mean to go forward on my journey to the northward and eastward. What the result of this will be, time alone can decide. I have never doubted that the means I have used and am using would have the effect they have actually produced; I mean, to give me a state of better general health. But that they would effect a removal of my main complaint, the dizziness, which, beyond all description, torments me in the pulpit, I have always doubted. But, at the request of my people, I have tried, and am about to try the best adapted means with which I am acquainted, and shall endeavour to leave the event with God, as cheerfully and unreservedly as I can. There is no employment in this world that I love half as well as preaching. For this I left an honourable literary establishment at Princeton, when I went to Philadelphia; for this I have refused some flattering offers of a similar kind since, and for this I would, I think, cheerfully refuse every offer to the end of life, that would detach me from it and from the people whom I love. But I tell you plainly, my dear colleague, that I have little expectation of being able to be responsible for stated pulpit service much longer, though I shall sincerely rejoice to be disappointed. I hope to preach more or less as long as I live. But, with the difficulties with which I have had to contend for years past, to be responsible for regular service in so large a congregation, so conspicuous a station, and so critical a congregation as we serve, seems to me inconsistent with my duty as well as my comfort. All this, however, I would most implicitly leave with God,

and continue to do present and obvious duty just as his providence shall seem to point it out."

Happily for his colleague, himself, and the church, the apprehensions expressed in the above extract were not realized. By travelling, sailing up the Hudson, and the use of the waters of Ballstown Springs, a favourable change in his feelings was soon experienced. Under date October 7, 1805, he wrote to his colleague thus:

"The mineral waters at this place differ widely from all I have ever seen before. I have not yet used them long enough to ascertain their full effect, but I am sanguine in my expectations at present that they will be very useful to me. Such expectations, however, I confess, I did not bring with me to this place; but certain it is, I am sensibly improved in my feelings since I came here. While I was at Bristol, I was not sensible of any other improvement in my health than an increase of muscular strength. I had the dizziness in my head almost as bad as ever, my stomach was disordered, my digestion was weak, and I had frequent turns of rheumatism. All these unpleasant symptoms followed me with little alteration till I went on board the vessel at Greenwich. While sailing up the river, I was agreeably surprised to find these symptoms abate, and they have been leaving me gradually ever since. Whether this is a temporary or the commencement of a permanent release from my difficulties, time alone can decide. I have endeavoured, and shall continue to use faithfully, every means and effort in my power to recover a degree of firmness in my health, and then, with as much quietness as I can, leave the event to God. My expectations

have not been very high, and therefore, if I am disappointed, I may be the better able to bear it. Indeed, such has been the state of my mind in regard to this subject, that I should by no means have thought of such a separation from my family and charge as has taken place, and which to me is extremely irksome, if my people had not requested it. I feel particularly on your account; for, though you do not preach much more than if I were with you, yet the burden of parochial duty, and the general weight of your charge, is greatly augmented, especially at a time when there are two other vacant churches in the city. I pray God that your health may be preserved, and that you may have divine support and consolation in your labours."

My colleague travelled as far as Boston, and then returned about the first week in November, after an absence of more than three months, to his charge, invigorated in his general health, and much encouraged; so that he commenced anew his important and useful labours with fresh alacrity and delight.

It is proper, however, to add, that he did not get entirely rid of his dizziness or giddiness, that enemy of which he complains in his letter as tormenting him so much. Still it continued to vex him, more or less, and mar the pleasure of his pulpit performances. Subsequently, when the church in Arch street was enlarged, by taking down a lofty steeple for that purpose, and entirely remodelled in its internal structure, so that room was procured for the accommodation of seventy-five additional families, he had a moveable board prepared in the pulpit to throw his person back from its front, and thus prevent his looking down in a line too

direct, which always increased his infirmity so as to impede the operations of his mind and embarrass his speech. The effect was not visible to others, but seriously felt by himself.

Now, when the frequent infirmities of the Doctor are considered, and especially the dizziness in his head, is it not apparent that his love for preaching was great, and that, if he had not taken such delight in it, he would have been driven from the pulpit, and led to seek a different employment, corresponding to his ministerial character, which his eminent intellectual endowments would easily have commanded?

I well know that the complaints of my colleague were, by not a few, regarded as imaginary, and feel constrained to bear my testimony against the accusations often thrown out against him. No one experienced the effects of his complaints more than the writer. He was left alone to meet the demand of two churches, a month, or two, or even three months, at a time; and at the commencement of his ministry, depending on such supplies as Providence might furnish.

He now records with gratitude, the kindness of God in sending assistance when he apprehended the failure of his own health, under his increased responsibilities and greatly augmented burdens; so that, at the return of Dr. Green, his strength had not failed, but was rather confirmed. Not unfrequently when it was the turn of the Doctor to preach in the church in the Northern Liberties, and at the close of the service, feeling unable to attempt a second, the people were informed the house would be closed in the afternoon, and a message despatched to request me to prepare

a second discourse for the church in which I had preached in the morning. Placed in circumstances so unpleasant, certainly I would have complained if my mind had not been impressed with a conviction, that the infirmities of my colleague were really not imaginary. At least some indications of such complaints would have appeared in my private journal; but, on a recent perusal, I find no evidence at all of my mind having been in such a state.

My colleague was always ready to appear in the pulpit when it was his turn, and to supply his portion of public instruction to our common charge when his health was sufficient for the labour.

His love for the pulpit and preaching the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, combined with the noble intellectual endowments of mind, large supply of grace in his heart, and ample experience of the divine life in his own soul, with which his Creator and Redeemer had enriched him, qualified him, in an eminent degree, to be a very useful public teacher of religion. Such he was indeed.

The lectures delivered on Friday evenings by him and his colleague, were never written. On those evenings he spoke with ease and fluency, and in a connected, edifying, and profitable manner.

His discourses on the Sabbath were uniformly written. Having judiciously selected his text, he confined himself to the thoughts it suggested. He never allowed himself to run away from his text, and deliver an essay or essays, that had no connexion, or a very slight one, with it. His intelligent hearers saw the thoughts he presented to be suggested by the portion of the divine

word on which he was discoursing. There was such a close connexion between the parts of his sermon, and such a unity given to the whole, (alas! that many modern sermons are so deficient in these particulars,) that his hearers could easily recollect what they had heard, and treasure it up in their memories. Such a character could not have been imparted to his discourses without studying his subject. He did study it, and carefully wrote out what he intended to deliver; regarding it as wrong to enter the pulpit without due preparation, unless unexpectedly called, by divine providence, to speak; when he thought a minister was authorized to make the attempt, and rely on assistance from on high. The discourses of Dr. Green, carefully prepared, were at once doctrinal, practical, and experimental. They were always adapted to the occasion, and suited to the wants of his people.

The application of a sermon he regarded as a very important part. This he never neglected in his discourses; and always endeavoured to give it point, by directing it to the different classes of his hearers. He bore in mind the injunction of the apostle to Timothy, "Study to show thyself approved of God, a workman that needeth not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth."

The delivery of my colleague was excellent and commanding. Favoured with a good voice, he modulated it so as to impart force to the thoughts he uttered; and, being accompanied with graceful and appropriate gesticulation, his discourses were rendered, at times, very impressive.

In declaring the truth, he was bold and faithful, yet

affectionate in manner. He did not shun to preach the law; but when he did, he remembered it was a school-master to bring us to Christ, a rule of life to believers, and not a covenant of works, by which they were to merit salvation. He denounced the terrors of the law to awake and arouse the sinner; but, in a compassionate manner, to show he had no pleasure in the misery of his fellow creatures, and only sought to urge them to flee from the wrath to come. He felt it to be his duty, on proper occasions, to hold forth the peculiar doctrines of the Calvinistic system; but he presented the truth in such a way as to strip it of every thing needlessly offensive to his hearers, yet with fidelity and plainness. On a certain day, at the close of the week, being in his study, he thus addressed me: "Brother Janeway, here is a text I had selected for the Sabbath. (It was Gal. vi. 3.) Studying it awhile, it opened to my view; and it occurred to me it would be supposed, by some of the congregation, that I aimed at brother Eastburn." (He was then clerk of the church, and sat in a convenient place, just below and in front of the pulpit. He was a good, pious, and useful man; but he was then exercising his gifts in a way that Dr. Green could not approve. Neither he nor his colleague forbore to let their opinion be known.) The Doctor went on to observe, "Under this belief I gave up the text, and chose another. After studying this text, (naming it) it occurred to my mind, that the other text was part of the word of God, and it was not right to abandon it on account of any application that might be made by some. I have, therefore, resolved to resume it, to prepare my discourse, and deliver it, and leave

the event with God." He did so; and, to his surprise, it produced a very remarkable and unexpected impression on the mind of Mr. Eastburn. On Monday morning he called to see and converse with the Doctor. He said to him, "Doctor, I felt your sermon yesterday very much. I had no sleep last night. I am convinced of my error in the exercise of my gifts; and yet I feel that I ought to exercise them in some way in trying to do good. What shall I do? How shall I act in an orderly manner?" "Well," replied Dr. Green, "Mr. Eastburn, since you wish my counsel, I will give it. I will take your case under consideration, and freely offer my opinion." The result was, Mr. Eastburn's case was brought, by the Doctor, before the Presbytery of Philadelphia; and a plan devised by him was adopted, by which Mr. Eastburn could exercise the singular gifts God had bestowed on him in an orderly way. He continued to act on this plan till his death, and was a very useful man.

The writer, for ten years, while sole pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, had a third service on the Sabbath, in a large session room in Cherry street, which was always crowded with hearers; and on those occasions uniformly invited Mr. Eastburn to follow him in an address, which he always did willingly and profitably.

And now, as you wish my opinion of Dr. Green as a *preacher*, I will, at the close of my remarks under this particular, candidly give it. When he was in the enjoyment of a measure of health, and in good spirits, his discourses were so well prepared, and delivered with such eloquence, that I regarded him (my place of

residence afforded opportunities for hearing the best preachers) as the first preacher in the Presbyterian Church.

AS A PASTOR.

The importance of pastoral duties Dr. Green duly appreciated, and endeavoured to perform them. The youth of the church were, at stated and frequent times, carefully instructed in the Shorter Catechism. He sought out those who appeared impressed with a sense of religion, with a view to encourage them, and lead them to the Saviour. And, at times, when it appeared proper, he gave public notice he would be happy to see and converse with any of his people, at his house, who wished for counsel and advice. He visited, conversed, and prayed with the sick, and embraced opportunities that offered for saying something for the benefit of others, in the sick chamber. Once invited to see a sick female in a house of suspicious character, regarding it as a call of Providence he did not hesitate to go, and try to impart spiritual benefit to a perishing fellow creature. He left his character for protection in the hands of his Master.

As far as he felt able, he endeavoured to see his people at their houses. But, after the enlargement of the building in Arch street, and the erection of the large edifice in the Northern Liberties, his flock became so numerous, and spread over so large a space of ground, (reaching from Kensington to remote parts in Southwark,) that, from want of health and strength, he was unable to satisfy their wishes. Complaints of

neglect were the consequence, which could not well be avoided.

PRESBYTERIANISM.

From principle and conviction, Dr. Green was firmly and decidedly attached to Presbyterianism, as distinguished from Prelacy on the one hand, and Congregationalism or Independency on the other. From the constitution of the General Assembly in 1788, to the day of his death, he was, as stated already, identified with the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. Green was a member of a committee of three, appointed in 1788, "to superintend the printing and publishing the Confession of Faith, &c. that formed the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; and to divide the several parts into chapters and sections, properly numbered."* Dr. Green in 1794, was chairman of the committee appointed for preparing and publishing a new edition of the Confession of Faith, &c., with scriptural proofs.†

He, it is believed, penned the answer to the request of the Presbytery of New York to the General Assembly, to rescind the rules about foreign ministers, &c. already noticed, and the regulations on the same subject adopted in 1800.‡

He was chairman of the standing Committee of Missions, appointed in 1802; he draughted several important papers in the commencement of their operations; he retained his seat till he removed to Princeton; and, on the writer's resignation of the presidency of the Board of Missions, when he was about to remove from

* Digest, p. 124. † Idem, p. 125. ‡ Idem, pp. 280—296.

Philadelphia, Dr. Green was appointed to that office, and held it till his death. He wrote, in 1828, an overture signed by friends of the Board of Domestic Missions, and presented to the General Assembly, for reorganizing that Board; the adoption of which gave such an impulse to its operations, as greatly to increase its funds and missionary appointments, and extend its usefulness.

He wrote that overture on the subject of the education of pious young men for the ministry, which, in 1805, the General Assembly sent down for consideration to the Presbyteries; and which resulted in the adoption of a regular plan for procuring an increase of candidates for the ministry, and funds for supporting indigent young men; and ultimately in the establishment of the Theological Seminary at Princeton.*

That admirable plan for the government of the Seminary was the product of Dr. Green's wisdom and pen; and he was chosen President of the Board of Directors, and retained the honour till God was pleased to call him to a seat in Paradise.

The plan for establishing a fund to defray the traveling expenses of commissioners to the General Assembly, originated in the mind of our venerable friend; a plan that was productive of so much good, till its operations were disturbed and obstructed in consequence of the Assembly's removing from Philadelphia, as the stated place of meeting, and selecting other and distant places for the purpose of holding their sessions.

Passing by other things relating to our Church, in which he had an important agency, let it be recorded,

* Minutes for 1807, Vol. II., pp. 126, 127.

that he brought forward in the Presbytery of Philadelphia the motion which finally issued in her purification from false doctrine, and return to a just enforcement of the wise principles of government embodied in her constitution. In bringing forward his motion for condemning a certain publication, as inconsistent with our standards of doctrine, he was influenced by the purest motives. In the course of the year 1830, after that matter had been before the Presbytery, and he was assailed with many censures and reproaches in the city of Philadelphia, he paid the writer, then living in New Brunswick, a visit, and lodged with him at night. Conversing on the subject, he said, "We are willing to be put in the back ground while contending for the truth of God." At that time, a dark and gloomy cloud hung over the Presbyterian Church. A long, severe, and painful contest followed.

The reasons of Dr. Green's conduct in the Presbytery that met April 23, 1830, will clearly appear from an extract of a letter to Dr. How, dated February 3, 1834. Speaking of a review he was writing, he says, "This is not the time to be swayed by personal friendship, in the concerns of the Presbyterian Church. 'Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.' You seem to me to have adopted a common opinion, that in the case of Mr. Barnes, the Presbytery of Philadelphia volunteered in a heresy-hunting business. Had they done so, I might perhaps agree with you, that they should have done a good deal in the way of preparation, before they commenced the attack."

(The above paragraph was written, says Dr. How,

under an impression produced on Dr. Green's mind, by wrong information conveyed to him of his views.)

"But there never was a more palpable error than the one which has been industriously circulated, that we seized an opportunity which we were glad to find, for commencing open and avowed hostilities. So far from this was the fact, that Mr. Barnes might have preached twenty Hopkinsian and Pelagian sermons instead of one, and published them too, and no member of the Presbytery, I am persuaded, would have disturbed his peace; if not reduced to the alternative of doing this, or becoming 'a partaker of other men's sins.' Here was a sermon brought before Presbytery, as the ground, and the only ground, of a call for settlement; for the people had never seen him in their pulpit; and only a few had ever heard him preach. What was to be done? Could the Presbytery, as the appointed guardians of the churches under their care, say that the author of that sermon was a fit man to be the pastor of one of those churches? Would they not have been false to their ordination vows, one of which binds them to study the purity of the Church, if they had put that call into the hands of Mr. Barnes? I thought so then, and I think so still. I took the lead in opposing the prosecution of that call; and I can truly say, that it was one of the most self-denying actions of my whole life. I would fain have given it the go-by, if I could have done it with a safe conscience; yes, I would have done so, if my conscience would have permitted it. No, my dear sir, we did not strike at new divinity of choice. We were placed in circumstances which compelled us to do it, prepared

or unprepared. I have never regretted what was done ; and I think if our Church is ever saved, its salvation, under God, will be traceable back to this very act. The Church was fast asleep. The wise virgins were slumbering with the foolish ; and this act compelled them to awake."

Throughout the whole contest, prolonged as it was seven years, Dr. Green acted a firm, dignified, and noble part. Assailed, reproached, and reviled, he stood, in his advanced age, upright and unmoved ; and, by the blessing of God, lived to see the Church he loved brought unharmed out of the fiery furnace, and prepared to shed on the world a purer and brighter light.

While our friend was so decidedly attached to Presbyterianism, he was liberal in his views and feelings towards other denominations of Christians, and felt no disposition to quarrel with them. Between him and Bishop White there existed a friendly intercourse. High-churchism he could not abide. Riding in a carriage with Bishop White, Dr. Green and Dr. Abercrombie, on a particular occasion, when that odious excrescence on Episcopacy was beginning to show itself in Philadelphia, our conversation happened to be turned to it. Speaking of an individual who had used the influence of his official station to introduce it into the American Episcopal Church, Dr. Green, well acquainted with the excessive bigotry of the man, who had been educated among Presbyterians, in giving vent to his indignant feelings, used too harsh a term. The good Bishop mildly said, "No, Dr. Green ; don't denominate him so." On that occasion, sitting by the

side of Dr. Abercrombie, I put this question to him, "Are not we ministers?" He promptly replied, "No." Knowing the character of the man, I merely smiled at his assumed superiority, and exclusive claims to the ministerial office.

On two occasions the use of the Episcopal forms at funerals, in the place of interment belonging to the Second Presbyterian church, had been permitted, though the privilege was obtained in a very offensive manner. The first was at the funeral of a communicant, the wife of an elder in that church; the second at the interment of another elder's wife, who had been a member of the Episcopal church. Disgusted at the measures adopted for obtaining the privilege, Dr. Green, to put an end to such unkind and ungenerous conduct, brought the subject before the session of the church. They resolved that he should go to Bishop White, and make the offer to allow the use of the Episcopal service in our ground, at any time when a member of his church was interred, provided we were allowed to use our accustomed mode of speaking at the interment of members of our church in the ground belonging to his church. The offer being accordingly made, Bishop White replied, "Dr. Green, although we might have no objection to allow you or Mr. Janeway the use of your form in our ground, yet, if the door be opened to one denomination, the Methodists will claim the privilege of entering. We had best keep each one to his own ground." This being reported to the session, it was resolved, that the use of the Episcopal service at funerals in our ground should no longer be allowed.

Let no one suppose the writer intends to impute any

thing like high-churchism to Dr. White. He was a liberal Episcopal bishop. On a subsequent occasion, being invited to attend the funeral of a lady belonging to the Episcopal church, from Germantown, to the ground of the Second Presbyterian church, I agreed to meet the procession as it approached the place of interment. I did so; and having taken my seat in the carriage in which Dr. White was riding, he said to me, "I understand you have given your consent to the use of our service in your ground." To which I replied, "Bishop, no person has spoken to me on the subject." He then said, "I shall not use it." This led me to say, "We are near the ground; I give my consent, lest something unpleasant should occur in present circumstances." He seemed unwilling, and did not proceed in the ceremony till he had spoken to a person standing near the open grave; who, I inferred, had misled him.

The Bishop was always willing to meet his brethren in the ministry, when convened for recommending the observance of days for religious purposes. It was his practice from 1799, when the writer was settled in Philadelphia, till he removed from it in 1820. The last time he invited the Bishop to attend such a meeting, he said, "I shall not be able to be with you at the meeting; but I will recommend to my clergy to observe the day, and for the purpose that may be agreed upon by the meeting."

A stronger proof still of the good Bishop's liberality shall be recorded. The late Mrs. Leiper was descended from parents of the Friends' Society, and had been educated accordingly. They lived at their country seat, a

few miles from Philadelphia, over Gray's Ferry, which belonged to her father. When she was married to the late Thomas Leiper, Esq., and had removed to the city, she felt an inclination to attend the Episcopal church. She waited on Bishop White, and made known to him her wishes. Impelled by his liberal Christian feelings, he said, "Mrs. Leiper, it is desirable for husbands and wives and children to worship in the same place. I advise you to attend the Second Presbyterian church, where your husband worships, and hear Dr. Sproat." She followed the advice of the good Bishop, became pleased with the ministry of Dr. Sproat, and after a while, a member of that church in full communion. She was a warm friend of Presbyterianism till her decease, in 1829.*

FRIENDSHIP.

In his attachment to his friends, Dr. Green was steady. He seldom lost one. His friendly feelings towards his several colleagues in the pastoral charge of the Second Presbyterian church, he always cherished, and used the best means for the purpose, as will be manifest from a letter to the writer, dated Bristol, September 23, 1805.

"Your first letter to me contains a hint that perhaps you are not as much and as often remembered in my prayers as I am in yours. Be assured, my dear friend, that I long, long since, laid it down as a rule, and have considered it as a sacred duty to pray for my colleague whenever, in secret, I pray for myself; and I have often thought that it was a merciful answer to these prayers,

* Mrs. Leiper was the writer's mother-in-law.

which has been the cause that my collegiate connections have been so happy. For a number of years past, it has been my stated rule, when not very specially circumstanced, to retire expressly for devotion three times a day; at these times, in my poor prayers, you have been remembered. If ever you have been forgotten it has not been often. But, alas! alas! my wretched prayers for others and for myself, have been of such a nature as often, I fear, to be of little value."

Often when I saw him towards the close of his life, he reminded me how he continued daily to pray for me and mine; and requested me to remember him and his children.

His love for the Second Presbyterian church was peculiarly strong. Frequently, after the mournful division of that church, he would say, "Brother, let us pray daily for the two branches of that dear church which we served together for so many years." Need it be added, the writer accorded with his feelings?

USEFULNESS.

From what has already been said of our departed friend, it is evident he was eminently useful in the ecclesiastical judicatories to which he belonged, by the influence he exerted in them, and the wise and judicious measures he originated and advocated. He laid it down as a rule to aid in a good plan, without regard to the person from whom it might spring.

In consequence of his absence from the city, he was not invited to meet with the four individuals who originated the first Bible Society formed in this country. But, on his return, he heartily gave his influence and

aid to that blessed cause. He was chairman of the committee to whom was referred the question, whether the society established in Philadelphia should be *national* or *particular*. It was wisely recommended by the committee to make it *particular*, and to circulate an address to the friends of religion in different parts of the United States, inviting and urging them to follow the example of those in Philadelphia, by establishing Bible societies throughout the Union. This address was written by the pen of Dr. Green; and being printed, was widely distributed. The example was followed in different states and cities; and when as many as one hundred and fifty were established, the American Bible Society came into existence.

As a preacher and a pastor, Dr. Green was very useful. Many were brought into communion with the church under his ministry; and a larger number edified by his preaching, and profited by his private counsels and advice.

What a signal blessing he was to the College of New Jersey! How remarkably did God smile upon his administration of the affairs of that institution, by shedding down upon the students the influences of his Holy Spirit, and graciously vouchsafing a blessed revival of religion among them, which resulted in the conversion of so many youth, who afterwards went forth into the various departments of life, under the influence of a renewed nature, to bless the Church and the State. He himself, I know, regarded this revival as an unspeakable honour conferred on his instrumentality, and did not fail to give the glory of it to the great Author, by thanksgiving and praise.

He continued to be useful after resigning his presidency of the College and return to Philadelphia, by preaching, by his writings, and by watchfulness over the interests of the Church. He was eminently useful in the agency he put forth to purify the Presbyterian Church from errorists who had crept into her communion and pulpits, and to bring her back to a steady adherence to those admirable standards of doctrine, government, and discipline, embodied in her constitution, under which she had increased and flourished, but by the relaxation of which she became exposed to the danger of being revolutionized, and deprived of her truth and glory.

The great usefulness of this man of God, after he had passed through the fiery trial produced by his love of the truth and firm adherence to the standards of our Church, was duly appreciated by the General Assembly, as was evinced by a signal token of respect at their meeting in 1846.*

While the General Assembly were in session in the city of Baltimore in 1848 he died; and when his departure was announced to the house by the Rev. Dr. Cuyler, pastor of the Second Presbyterian church, they appointed a committee of five to prepare a suitable minute in regard to his death, as a tribute of their high respect for him, and then immediately adjourned. This tribute to his memory is recorded in the Assembly's Minutes, pp. 22-24. This venerable and venerated servant of Christ merited this testimonial of the high estimation in which he was held in the Presbyterian Church.

* Page 490.

In fine, Ashbel Green, D.D., LL.D., was a great and good man, eminently pious and useful.

His immediate successor in the presidency of the College, the Rev. Dr. James Carnahan, justly said, when his body had been laid in the grave, in the place of interment which holds the mortal remains of his illustrious predecessors, Dickinson, Burr, Edwards, Davies, Finley, Witherspoon, and Smith, "He was, by his talents, fitted to fill any civil station; and by his eloquence, to adorn the halls of our national legislature."

In one of my last interviews with our aged friend, when his faculties were manifestly declining, and his utterance had become difficult, he said to me, with an effort to speak, "Once a man, and twice a child!"

He has laid aside that mortal frame, by which the operations of his noble mind were impeded, and at the close of life oppressed; and now, freed from all the darkness of our apostasy, and all the stains of sin, it expands in the light of eternity, and exults in all the blessedness of the heavenly state. Amazing change! May you, my brother, and I, meet our departed friend in the regions of immortality, and share with him in that nobler worship which he and all the spirits of the just men made perfect are now offering to Him who redeemed us by his blood!

Affectionately yours,

J. J. JANEWAY.

New Brunswick, March, 1849.

Our materials were collected and arranged for the press, when we were favoured with a perusal of the following graphical delineation of Dr. Green's character, in a letter from the pen of Rev. Dr. Murray, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Through the kindness of Dr. Sprague of Albany, to whom it was addressed, we are permitted to transfer it to our own pages, to which it will make a valuable accession.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

You ask from me my reminiscences of the Rev. Dr. Green, and my views as to his general character as a minister, and as a literary man. And whilst feeling that there are many more competent for the task, because of their long and familiar acquaintance with this great and good man, I hesitate not to comply with your request. I shall arrange my views of his character under a few heads, and bring in my recollections of him by way of illustrating them.

1. He was a man pre-eminently of two characters, public and private; and to form a right estimate of him, he must be known in both. To those who only knew him as a public man, he was stern, unyielding, dictatorial, and repulsive; to those who knew him both in public and in private, he was mild, pliable, and peculiarly attractive. Hence, by one class he was respected, but disliked; whilst by another he was uncommonly beloved, and regarded as an oracle.

Although I had heard much of him from my boyhood, and read some of his writings, I had never seen

him until 1826. And the sight of him, at that time, would induce any young man to resolve to keep at a respectful distance. His form was full and commanding, his appearance was stern; his eye, gleaming through shaggy eyebrows, was penetrating; his step was firm, and from his cane to his wig there was something, which, to say the least, was more repulsive than attractive to a youth. And with this conclusion agreed many of the anecdotes which I had heard of him while President of Nassau Hall. My acquaintance with him commenced in 1827, and in this wise. Visiting Philadelphia as the agent of one of our national societies, I felt his approbation of my plans necessary to my success. I called to see him, and was introduced into his study. I soon found myself in converse with a courteous, kind, but dignified Christian minister. He not only approved my plans, but tendered his own subscription to the object. Finding, on inquiry, as I was about to retire, that I was a candidate for the ministry, he invited me to a seat by his side. And the impressions made upon my mind and heart by his kind inquiries, by his paternal advice, are vivid to this hour. He dismissed me with his blessings upon myself and my object. Never was a revolution more entire wrought in the feelings of a man. And from that day forward, he was my counsellor in cases of difficulty. And so pleasant and simple was he in private, that on leaving my family after an occasional visit of a few days, my little children would cling to his feet and his garments, crying out, "you must not go, Dr. Green." I feel quite sure that those who only knew him in Presbyte-

ries and Synods, and especially in the ardent conflicts of the General Assembly, of which he was almost a standing member, have the most erroneous views of his true character.

2. His was a truthful character. Truth was to him truth; and what he believed he felt and acted out. His was not the policy to believe one way and act another. Such policy he scorned, and withheld his confidence from those who practised it. A man cast in such a mould, is likely to be unpopular with that large class of persons who regard truth with less reverence; who stretch it or contract it to suit circumstances; who, in the bad sense of the phrase, are ready to become "all things to all men." They are prejudiced, obstinate, bigoted, sectarian. But there is a better and truer explanation of all this. There is a deep and heart-felt reverence for the truth, as such, which, on all occasions, and everywhere, forbids its compromise on the ground of mere worldly expediency. There is an inner reverence for it, in kind and degree, like unto that which is felt for God himself. This was conspicuous through the whole long life of Dr. Green; and often have I heard him censuring, with far greater severity, what he considered the crooked policy of his friends, who always acted with him, than that of his opponents, who always pursued a different policy from his. His firmness was at an equal remove from fickleness and obstinacy, which are alike alien to a truly noble character. The one is barren of good as the yielding wave, the other as the unyielding rock. Although holding his opinions

strongly, he was ever willing to yield them for good reasons. A fool never changes his opinions, but a wise man always will for sufficient cause.

3. He was a most fervent and instructive preacher. Although I never heard him preach until he had passed the meridian of life; until, fearful of attacks of vertigo, to which he was subject, he generally declined the pulpit; yet the few sermons I have heard him deliver, very deeply impressed his hearers, and very obviously indicated, that in the prime of his years he was a man of no ordinary power. His utterance was distinct, his manner was calm and dignified; if he never rose to the higher style of action, he always attained its end, attention and impression; he made you feel that he entirely believed every word he uttered, and that it was of infinite moment that you should believe them also. The minister that uniformly makes this impression must be one of great power.

Nor was the impression which he made simply that of manner; his matter was always weighty, well arranged and instructive. If his topics were commonplace, they were always important; if his discussions were sometimes dry, they were clear as a sunbeam; if you could not always adopt his opinions, there was no mistake as to what he meant. In all my intercourse with him, I had never cause to ask, "What do you mean, sir?" Nor do I remember a sentence in all his writings which is not entirely transparent.

His most valuable lectures on the Shorter Catechism and his published sermons, give a fair specimen

of his ordinary style of preaching. If they have not the amplitude of Chalmers, nor the polished eloquence of Hall, nor the warmth of Davies, they have the purity of Blair, in union with a natural simplicity, which strongly fix their truly evangelical sentiments in the mind and heart. Hence the devoted attachment, both to him and his sentiments, of all who ever enjoyed his ministrations.

He greatly excelled as an expounder of the word of God. Of his talent in this way, I had an abundance of opportunity of forming a judgment. The Sabbath school teachers of Philadelphia adopted a rule to have the same Bible lesson taught on the same Sabbath in all schools of the city; and to have the lesson expounded to them by some clergyman. The lecture room in Cherry street was the place, and Dr. Green was the man selected. On each evening the large room was crowded by one of the most interesting and interested audiences I ever beheld; and although Dr. Green was then approaching his three score years and ten, never did I hear more clear, and full, and fresh, and pleasing expositions of divine truth. At the close of the lecture, opportunity was given for the asking of any questions upon any points that were left unexplained; which were always answered with a promptness which showed the remarkable fulness of his mind upon all topics connected with the exposition or elucidation of the Scriptures. I know not that I ever attended a more instructive religious service. I have learned that it was greatly blessed of God to the conversion and edification of Sabbath school teachers. He

served his generation in more dignified stations, but probably in none more usefully than when expounding the word of life to nearly a thousand young men and women, who, on each successive Sabbath, sought to impress those views received from him on the minds of ten thousand children. Might not this plan be successfully revived in all our cities?

4. He was a truly devotional man. His public devotional services were always peculiarly impressive. They were solemn, pathetic, reverential, appropriate, and never unduly protracted. In the family he always commenced morning and evening prayer with imploring a blessing upon the service; and whilst engaged in them, all felt that he was conversing with God as a man converses with a friend. I have often heard him express his regrets at the little preparation ministers often make for conducting the devotional exercises of a congregation, and I have heard him state that in the early part of his ministry he was in the habit of writing prayers with equal regularity as sermons. And whilst he never read them, nor committed them to memory, the writing of them furnished him with topics for prayer, and gave to those topics arrangement, and to the expression of them variety and appropriateness. For this thought he may have been indebted to his venerated tutor, Dr. Witherspoon, who always recommended devotional composition to his theological students, of whom Dr. Green was one.

My first sermon was preached in the Third Presbyterian church, Philadelphia, then under the pastoral care

of the Rev. Dr. Ely, and from the text "Compel them to come in." Dr. Ely was absent, and to my confusion, Dr. Green entered the church just at the opening of the service. Feeling it better to have him behind me than before me, I sent for him to the pulpit. In my ardour to stimulate ministers and Christians to do their duty, I omitted almost any allusion to the necessary agency of the Spirit to secure their success. He made the concluding prayer, in which, with his accustomed felicity, he converted the topics discussed into supplications, and then brought out most prominently and emphatically the essential truth by me omitted. I felt that the whole congregation saw and felt the defect of my sermon. His kindness was marked at the close of the service. I went to my study, re-wrote my sermon, put into it the prayer of Dr. Green, and it is unnecessary to say that it was greatly improved by the addition. I subsequently mentioned the fact to him, and we had over it a hearty laugh.

My very last interview with him impressed me with the depth of that spirit of devotion which characterized his life. He was feeble and forgetful, and in a mood to talk but very little to any body. Hearing that I was in the city, he sent for me that I might attend to a matter of business for him connected with the New Jersey Historical Society. I entered his study on a May morning about nine o'clock. His Greek Testament was open before him. He requested me to be seated. The business ended, he waved his hand, saying, "My devotional reading is not yet concluded; I shall be happy to see you at another time;" and as I closed the door of his study, the prayer, "God bless you," fell upon my

ear; the last words I ever heard him utter. All testify that the closing years of his life were marked by a spirit remarkably devotional.

5. He possessed a truly catholic spirit. This assertion, perhaps, will startle some who only knew his public character, and who have only heard of him as an impersonation of Old-school Presbyterianism. Yet it is true to the letter. His own views he held strongly, but in perfect charity to those who differed from him. Although his contributions and exertions were mainly confined to the organization of his own Church, it was out of consistency with himself, and not out of illiberality to others. More than once have I heard him detail an account of a visit made him by the venerable Dr. Woods, for so many years the ornament of the Andover Theological Seminary. They compared views on theological and other subjects, and whilst they differed a little in the explanations of some positions, they radically agreed. "Would to God," I have heard him say, "that all our ministers and churches held the sentiments of my brother Woods." And after the disruption of our Church, he never permitted a day to pass without the most fervent prayers to God on the behalf of the brethren to whom he was regarded as being so violently opposed. He had none of the narrow sectarianism that would confine the Church visible to those only who walked with him; and often have I heard him rejoice in the good that was doing by Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, to all of whom as Christians and as ministers he could extend the right hand

of fellowship, although on all suitable occasions he could strongly maintain the positions on which he differed from them. There is not probably a national society for the spread of the gospel in this land to which he was not a contributor, and of which he was not a member or a manager; whilst he may be considered the father of nearly all the Boards and Societies of his own deeply venerated Church. "Nobody will question the Presbyterianism of Dr. Green," said an eloquent divine during a debate in the General Assembly, "as he was dyed in wool." "The brother mistakes," said Dr. Green, with that promptness of repartee which he possessed, "the Lord, by his grace, made me a Presbyterian." And although the principles of his Church were interwoven with his spiritual life, and formed a part of it, yet he had the most cordial love for the children of God, by whatever name called. Never have I heard him speak with more affection of any man than of his friend, the amiable and venerated Bishop White.

6. He was remarkably gifted as a son of consolation to desponding souls. This perhaps was mainly owing to his own simple views of divine truth, and his rich experience of its power. He had the power of simplifying every subject on which he spoke or wrote, and of doing it in a few words. This is very apparent in his lectures on the Shorter Catechism, prepared for the youth of his own congregation. When anxious or desponding souls applied to him for direction, he first sought out the cause of trouble, and then like a

well instructed scribe, he so simply presented and applied the remedial truth, as to give, if not immediately, yet speedy relief. He acted upon the principle, that "if the truth makes us free, we are free indeed." Hence, aged desponding Christians, and individuals asking what they should do to be saved, and from different congregations in the city, were often found in his study seeking his counsels. On such occasions there was a kindness and blandness in his manner, which formed the greatest possible contrast with his stern and unflinching position when contending for principles on the floor of the General Assembly.

A case in illustration of this I will state. Twenty-five years ago, the name of Miss Linnard, whose memoir has since been published, was familiar to the pious female circles of Philadelphia. She shone conspicuously among them, for her fine sense, great activity, and deep piety. A minister, still living, preached a preparatory lecture, in the church in Spruce street, of which she was a member, on the text, "Lovest thou me," which cast her into the deepest gloom. Such were the strong and vivid representations which he made, as to the necessary preparations for the right partaking of the Lord's supper, that, conscious of not possessing them, she resolved not to commune. Her sense of duty and her deep depression of feeling came into conflict, and greatly excited her soul. In this state she had recourse to Dr. Green, who had heard the lecture. "My dear child," said he, "our excellent brother seemed to forget, that the Lord's table is spread, not for angels, but for sinners. He has come,

not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. It is the weary and heavy laden he invites to himself, and to the privileges of his house." It was enough. She left his study rejoicing in the Lord; and a more joyful communion season she had never spent on earth. I heard the lecture, and the incident here narrated I have had from both parties. And this, I feel persuaded, is a fair illustration of his skill and success as a comforter of the Lord's people, and as a director of the inquiring to the cross of Jesus Christ.

It remains for me only to speak of him as a literary man. As his life and writings will do his memory full justice upon this subject, I need say but little upon it. His academic habits he carried with him into his pastoral life, and always took rank in the very first class of the educated men of his own age; with such men as Dwight, and Smith, and Wilson, and Mason. If he was excelled in brilliancy by these, and others with whom he ranked, he was fully their equal in all solid attainments. It was no ordinary tribute to his literary character, that he should be selected to succeed Dr. Smith as the President of Princeton College, in which position he discharged his duties as instructor with distinguished ability, and, in a religious point of view, with distinguished usefulness. It was during his presidency that the revival occurred which, under God, brought into the Church and into the ministry such men as Dr. John Breckinridge, Dr. Hodge, Bishops McIlvaine of Ohio, and Johns of Virginia. On retiring from the presidency he commenced

the Christian Advocate, which he edited for twelve years; and whose twelve volumes give the most ample testimony to his rich scholarship, his keen discrimination, his metaphysical acumen, his sharpness as a critic, and to the extent and variety of his reading. Some of the ablest productions of his pen were written after he had passed his four-score years; and to the very close of his life his Greek Testament was his daily study, and he could repeat passages from the Greek and Roman classics with the interest and vigour of a school boy. His habits of study he never surrendered to the last. And I have in my possession a note written to me on business in his eighty-fifth year; written with as clear, bold, and steady a hand, as if written in his fortieth year. In this respect he is an example worthy of imitation by all literary men in advanced years, to study, write, and work to the last. Still waters soon stagnate; running waters never. The mind, unemployed, like the blade of Hudibras,

“Which ate into itself, for lack
Of somebody to hew and hack,”

preys upon itself, and soon passes away.

Such is my estimate of the character of Dr. Green. By others who knew him much longer, and more intimately, it might be sketched more strongly and truly; but such are the impressions he has left upon my mind and heart by an acquaintance with him of twenty years. On the whole, I esteem him as among the ripest scho-

lars, the most able divines, the most useful men, which our country has produced. His name will be more closely connected with the history and progress of the Presbyterian Church one hundred years hence, than that of any of his predecessors. He well deserves a name and a place among "The Lights of the American Pulpit."

Yours affectionately,

N. MURRAY.

May, 1849.

We will only add what might have been inserted in a former place, that on the 22d of May, the remains of Dr. Green were taken to Princeton, New Jersey, for interment. A large number of clergymen and other gentlemen attended them, who being joined by a numerous cortege from Princeton, proceeded to the first Presbyterian church, where an appropriate funeral discourse was delivered by Rev. Dr. Janeway, on Philippians i. 21, "For me to live is Christ." Prayers were offered by the Rev. Dr. Miller and President Carnahan. At the conclusion of the solemn services, a very large procession accompanied the body to the cemetery; and when the coffin had been deposited in the grave, a brief and touching address was made by President Carnahan.

Thus the ashes of Dr. Green were provided with a suitable resting place by the side of Presidents Burr,

Edwards, Witherspoon, Davies, Finley, Smith, and other illustrious dead:

Mortalitate relictæ—vivit immortalitate indutus.

On account of the distinguished virtues of this venerable man, and his most faithful and useful services to the College, the Trustees caused a monument to be erected, on which is the inscription which we have transferred to our pages.

Memoriae Sacrum

ADMODUM REVERENDI

ASHBEL GREEN, D.D. LL.D.

Præsidis Octavi Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis.
Natus Jul. prid. Non., Hanoveræ, Neo-Cæsariensium.
Anno Salutis MDCCLXII.

Artibus liberalibus instructus in Aula Nassovica,
Primum Gradum accepit Anno MDCCLXXXIII.
Extemplo Tutor designatus officio biennium fungebatur;
deinde ad Philosophiæ Naturalis sellam promotus,
alterum biennium in Aula Nassovica permanebat.

Sacris ordinibus initiatus Munus Pastorale
in Philadelphia suscepit; ibique officiis et laboribus
Ministerii Evangelici annos viginti et quinque
diligenter, et, Deo favente, feliciter perfunctus est.
Tandem designatus Aulæ Nassovicæ Præses
officium inivit Anno MDCCCXII.

Posteaquam decem annos cum fidelitate et dignitate præse-
derat,

Præsidis munere se abdicavit, et reliquum vitæ suæ
Spatium ad literas sacras excolendas
atque ad Evangelium prædicandum, et ad
res Dei Ecclesiæ communes administrandas dedit.

Post vitam longam utilissimamque
Jun. XIV.º Kal. A. D. MDCCCXLVIII, et ætatis suæ
Anno LXXXVI,

Philadelphix in Jesu obdormivit.

Quod mortale, ejusdem mensis XI.º Kal.,
multis amicis, non sine spe beatissima, mœrentibus,
in hoc tumultu, depositum est.

Plurimis animi dotibus, et eloquentia profuente
Ornataque præditus, apud Conventum Generalem
aliaque Ecclesiæ Concilia auctoritatem
magnam et salutarem ille semper habebat.

Vir pietatis sinceræ eximixque,

Civis boni publici studiosus
et Literarum Scientiarumque Patronus.

Propter virtutes hujus venerabilis viri eximias
et officia fidelissima atque Collegio Neo-Cæs. utilissima,

Hoc Monumentum
ponendum Curatores fecerunt.

Sacred to the Memory

OF THE VERY REVEREND

ASHBEL GREEN, D.D. LL.D.

Eighth President of the College of New Jersey.

He was born at Hanover, in New Jersey,

July 6th, 1762.

Having been instructed in the liberal arts in Nassau Hall,

He took his first degree in the year 1783.

He was at once appointed Tutor and discharged the duties
of that office for two years;

Afterwards having been promoted to the chair of Natural
Philosophy,

He continued two years longer in Nassau Hall.

Having been admitted to Holy Orders

He undertook the Pastoral Office at Philadelphia;

and there for the space of twenty-five years

he diligently, and, by the blessing of God, successfully
performed the duties and labours of the Gospel Ministry.

At length having been chosen President of Nassau Hall,

he entered upon that office in the year 1812.

After he had acted as President with fidelity and dignity for
ten years,

He resigned the Presidency, and devoted the rest of his life

to the study of the sacred Scriptures and to preaching

the Gospel, and to the management of the common concerns of
the Church of God.

After a long and most useful life,

He fell asleep in Jesus at Philadelphia

On the 19th day of May, A. D. 1848, and in the 86th year
of his age.

What was mortal, was on the 22d day of the same month,
by many friends, grieving, but not without most blessed hopes,
deposited in this tomb.

Gifted with very many mental endowments and with fluent
and graceful eloquence,

He always possessed great and salutary influence in the
General Assembly and in other councils of the Church.

He was a man of sincere and distinguished piety,

A citizen zealous for the public welfare,

And a patron of literature and science.

On account of the distinguished virtues of this venerable man,
and his most faithful and useful services to the

College of New Jersey,

the Trustees have caused this

Monument to be erected.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

PERHAPS this statement concerning "the introduction of the study of the Bible as a college exercise," may be left without qualification. We know of nothing which detracts in the least from the credit of Dr. Green, who certainly did it, as he verily believed, without any precedent. It will serve, however, to show the kindred spirit of Dr. Green and of the godly founders of Harvard College at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1642, that, in the first constitution, the object proposed to be attained in its foundation are set forth to be "piety, morality, and learning. And for the purpose of securing these, the students were to be practised twice a day in reading the Scriptures, giving an account of their proficiency and experience in practical and spiritual truths, accompanied by theoretic observations on the language and logic of the sacred writings. They were carefully to attend God's ordinances, and be examined on their profiting; common-placing the sermons, and repeating them publicly in the hall. In every year and every week of the College course, every class was practised in the Bible and catechetical divinity." See President Quincy's History.

"It ought perhaps to have been here suggested, that this institution was the first (so far as I am informed) into which the study of the Bible, as a college exercise, was introduced. A few years after I was graduated, I believe about the year 1813, the now aged and most venerable minister of the gospel, the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green, a few months after he became the President, adopted the plan of recitations on the Bible on the Sabbath afternoon. They were at first confined to the Senior Class, the President himself presiding over the exercise, but were soon extended to the whole College." Address delivered at Princeton, September, 1837, by the Hon. S. L. Southard.

The same testimony to this interesting fact was borne by the Rev. Dr. Miller in the following sentiment proposed at the centennial celebration of the College of New Jersey, June, 1847: "The venerable Ashbel Green, D.D. LL.D., our venerated eighth President; we honour him as the first head of a college in the United States who introduced the study of the Bible as a regular part of the collegiate course, (he has sent up his blessing,) *sero in cælum ascendat!* And, when we shall be taken up, we may well say with the bereaved prophet of old, 'My Father, my Father, the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof.'

The following communication from the Rev. Dr. Magie, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in relation to Dr. Green's Bible class instruction, will be read with much interest:

"Many of Dr. Green's pupils remember him with the deepest interest as the teacher of a College Bible class. Years have passed since I had the happiness to sit at his feet, but the scene is scarcely less vivid in my mind than are the transactions of yesterday. Everything indicated that the heart of the venerable man was strongly set on this part of his official work. His addresses, his sermons, and his prayers, all showed how essential to a liberal education he deemed a competent knowledge of the word of God.

"The Bible recitation took the place of a public religious service for Sabbath

afternoon. Every student in College was requested to be present, and if he did not answer to his name at the calling of the roll, he had subsequently to give a reason for his absence to the President. The members of the faculty, too, all attended, as well for the sake of example as for their own personal improvement. Upon the ringing of the bell we assembled, and waited to receive the President as he entered, at the appointed moment, with the book of God under his arm. The lesson from the Scriptures was always connected with singing and prayer.

"It was the object of the Doctor to give us, as far as possible, some connected view of revealed truth. For this purpose, we studied the historical, devotional, and preceptive parts of the Bible somewhat in turn, thus bringing both the Old and New Testaments under review. Often we were expected simply to answer questions on the chapters previously assigned; but it was deemed far better for us to give a synopsis of their contents, either in our own language, or in that of the inspired writers themselves, as we might prefer. A considerable portion of the Psalms we committed almost entirely to memory, especially the more striking passages.

"No department in the whole College course was considered more important. There were students in every class who prepared themselves so carefully as to be able to go over the whole lesson with scarcely a single prompting. Many a belated youth was thus, perhaps for the first time in his life, led into the best field of truth undefiled.

"The lesson usually consisted of from three to five chapters, and the Doctor called us up promiscuously; so that no one could know beforehand whether he would have to recite or not. The catalogue lay before him, and that all might be induced to prepare, he repeated the name of any one at his option. Whenever any student gave evidence of having fully mastered the allotted portion, the countenance of the good President would never fail to assume its blandest and sweetest aspect. Not a few recollect with what high pleasure he would listen to the repetition of some beautiful and sublime passage of the word of God. Never did he pronounce the well remembered phrase, *let that suffice*, with such unequivocal tokens of real delight.

"We were all required upon entering College to learn the Lord's Prayer in Greek. This we repeated, occasionally in connection with the Bible recitation, through our whole course, until the precious words became imprinted on the mind like the letters of the alphabet. Till we die we shall appreciate the name of our revered President, with the prayer taught by Him who spake as never man spake.

"As to the results of this whole excellent plan, much must be left for the disclosures of the final day. Still it is safe to say, that more than one of the old students of President Green will remember, while life lasts, the impression often made by his judicious remarks and affectionate exhortations. Every thing was then kind and paternal. The Doctor laid aside whatever was stiff and formal in manner, and seemed like a tender, warm-hearted father in the midst of a group of children. The College officer was all merged in the sympathizing man of God, and we retired to our rooms with the conviction, that there was one who felt an interest in our eternal welfare."

(B.)

The following is the Epitaph to which the reference is made; and which the reader, we think, will be gratified to see, notwithstanding the disparaging terms in which the author speaks of his poetic capacity:

Say what the mother, wife, and friend, should be
In this imperfect state, and that was she.
Think what the humblest Christians dying prize,
That need, she now possesses in the skies.
Her full reward eternity alone,
To kindred sainted spirits can make known.
Reader, aspire, make not this earth thy home,
Live here by faith, and hope thy heaven to come.

(C.)

In the twelfth volume of the *Christian Advocate*, we find the following pleasant notice of the first sermon which Dr. Green ever wrote.

After begging indulgence for the little "egotism" which it betrays, he states that "the text was given him as the subject of a popular discourse, when he was on trials for the gospel ministry in the Presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey, and was composed in his room in Nassau Hall, when he was a tutor in that institution, in the summer of the year 1785.

"After being read to the Presbytery in private, it was several months afterwards delivered memoriter, in the church in Princeton, the first time that the author preached after his licensure, Dr. Witherspoon sitting in the pulpit with the preacher, and insisting that he should not show a note. His injunction was obeyed, and as the young licentiate walked from the house of worship with his highly respected teacher, he received from him, for his encouragement, what he says was "the only praise ever given him to his face" by that venerated man. It was a maxim with this eminent scholar and divine, which, he said, admitted of but very few exceptions, 'Never to praise a man to his face, and never to speak evil of him behind his back, unless called to do so, as a matter of obvious duty, and for a useful purpose.'"

(D.)

In the year 1698 a plan was devised for erecting a college in Connecticut, by a general synod of the churches. It was intended that the synod should nominate the first president and inspectors, and have some kind of influence in all future elections, "so far as should be necessary to preserve orthodoxy in the governors;" that the college should be called the "school of the church," and that the churches should contribute towards its support. This project failed; but in the following year, ten of the principal ministers of the colony were nominated and agreed upon by general consent, both of the clergy and laity, to be trustees, to found, erect, and govern a college. The individuals thus named for the important object, were the Rev. James Noyes, of Stonington; the Rev. Israel Chauncey, of Stratford; the Rev. Thomas Buckingham, of Saybrook; the Rev. Abraham Pierson, of Killingworth; the Rev. Samuel Mather, of Windsor; the Rev. Samuel Andrew, of Milford; the Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, of Hartford; the Rev. James Pierpont, of New Haven; the Rev. Noadiah Russell, of Middletown, and the Rev. Joseph Webb, of Fairfield. These clergymen, with the exception of the Rev. Mr. Buckingham, of Saybrook, were all graduates of Harvard College.

The trustees met in New Haven some time in the year 1700, and formed themselves into a society, to consist of eleven ministers, including a rector, and agreed to found a college in the colony of Connecticut.

On the 9th day of October, 1701, the Colonial Assembly granted a charter to the college, with some small variations only, from the form which had been received from Boston.

The trustees, on receiving their charter, met at Saybrook, November 11, 1701, and chose for rector the Rev. Israel Chauncey, of Stratford. Mr. Chauncey was son of the Rev. Charles Chauncey, the second president of Harvard College, and had a high reputation for scholarship. He, however, declined the place, and the Rev. Abraham Pierson, of Killingworth, was chosen the first rector of the school.

During the life of rector Pierson, that is, until the year 1707, the students continued at Killingworth, where they received instruction from the rector and one tutor; the commencements only being held at Saybrook, and privately in the house of Mr. Buckingham, who was one of the trustees. The death of rector Pierson occurred March 5, 1717. He was the son of the Rev. Abraham Pierson, who

emigrated from England, and who was the first minister of Branford, in the colony of New Haven. Some account of Mr. Pierson is given by Dr. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*. On the union of the two colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, in 1660, great dissatisfaction at this event existed throughout all parts of the New Haven jurisdiction. Mr. Pierson, especially, was so unwilling to continue under the new government, that with a large part of his congregation he left Branford, and commenced a settlement on the banks of a river in New Jersey, before unoccupied, and to the new town he gave the name of Newark. His son Abraham, the first rector, was educated at Harvard College, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1668. For some years he was settled in the ministry at Newark, as colleague with his father; but after his father's death, some controversy having arisen on the subject of Presbyterianism, Mr. Pierson not improbably having some congregational biases, he removed to Killingworth, in Connecticut, where he remained till his death. President Clap, who was cotemporary with some of the first graduates of the collegiate school, and from whom, without doubt, he received his information, says of rector Pierson, that he "was a hard student, a good scholar, a great divine, and a wise, steady, and judicious gentleman, in all his conduct." He adds, that "he instructed and governed the infant college with general approbation, and composed a system of natural philosophy, which the students recited for many years."

(E.)

As both the address of the clergy and the President's reply are papers of peculiar interest, we have taken them from the *Christian Advocate* for the gratification of those readers to whom that work is not accessible.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sir—On this day, which becomes important in the annals of America, as marking the close of a splendid public life, devoted for near half a century to the service of your country, we, the undersigned clergy of different denominations residing in and near the city of Philadelphia, beg leave to join the voice of our fellow-citizens, in expressing a deep sense of your public services, in every department of trust and authority committed to you. But in our special character as ministers of the gospel of Christ, we are more immediately bound to acknowledge the countenance which you have uniformly given to his holy religion.

In your public character, we have uniformly beheld the edifying example of a civil ruler always acknowledging the superintendence of divine Providence in the affairs of men; and confirming that example by the powerful recommendation of religion and morality, as the firmest basis of social happiness;—more especially in the following language of your affectionate parting address to your fellow-citizens: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of social happiness—the surest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the religious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles." Should the importance of these just and pious sentiments be duly appreciated and regarded, we confidently trust that the prayers you have offered for the prosperity of our common country will be answered. In these prayers we most fervently unite; and with equal fervour we join in those which the numerous public bodies that represent the citizens of these States are offering for their beloved chief. We most devoutly implore the divine blessing to attend

you in your retirement, to make it in all respects comfortable to you, to satisfy you with length of days; and finally to receive you into happiness and glory infinitely greater than this world can bestow.

WM. WHITE,	JOHN ANDREWS,
ASHBEL GREEN,	J. F. SCHMIDT,
WM. SMITH,	ROBERT BLACKWELL,
JOHN EWING,	WM. ROGERS,
SAMUEL JONES,	THOMAS USTICK,
WM. HENDEL,	ANDREW HUNTER,
SAMUEL MAGAW,	JOHN DICKINS,
HENRY HELMUTH,	J. JONES,
SAMUEL BLAIR,	JOSEPH TURNER,
NICOLAS COLLIN,	EZEKIEL COOPER,
ROBERT ANNAN,	MORGAN J. RHEES,
WM. MARSHALL,	JAS. ABERCROMBIE,
JOHN MEDER.	

Philadelphia, March 3d, 1797.

TO THE CLERGY OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS RESIDING IN AND NEAR THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Gentlemen—Not to acknowledge with gratitude and sensibility the affectionate addresses and benevolent wishes of my fellow-citizens, on my retiring from public life, would prove that I have been unworthy of the confidence which they have been pleased to repose in me.

And among those public testimonies of attachment and approbation, none can be more grateful than that of so respectable a body as yours.

Believing, as I do, that *Religion and Morality are the essential* pillars of civil society, I view, with unspeakable pleasure, that harmony and brotherly love which characterize the clergy of different denominations, as well in this, as in other parts of the United States; exhibiting to the world a new and interesting spectacle, at once the pride of our country and the surest basis of universal harmony.

That your labours for the good of mankind may be crowned with success; that your temporal enjoyments may be commensurate with your merits; and that the future reward of good and faithful servants may be yours, I shall not cease to supplicate the Divine Author of life and felicity.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

(F.)

The writer is not aware of there being in print any other record of this venerated servant of Christ, than the tender and beautiful sketch which was furnished by Dr. Green in the discourse preached on the occasion of his lamented death by the yellow fever, October 18, 1793. It is a gem which will add to the beauty and richness of the volume, and which we take great pleasure in preserving.

"Time will not permit me to give so full a sketch of the life and character of Dr. Sproat, as my inclination would lead me to attempt. You knew him well; and as the principal things which will be mentioned fell under your observation as well as mine, you will be witnesses that what I speak is the unexaggerated truth.

"At the College of Yale, in the state of Connecticut, he early received a liberal education. While he was pursuing his academical studies, he met with that change in his temper and views which determined him to devote his life to the ministry of the gospel, and which, we doubt not, has prepared him for the exercises and enjoyments of the heavenly state. The instrument of this work lies there before you sleeping in the dust.* Or, to speak more properly, is now rejoicing with him whom we lament in the kingdom of glory. His own relation to me of the circumstance here

* Mr. Tennent is interred in the broad aisle of the church.

alluded to was nearly thus: 'Mr. Gilbert Tennent, the founder of our church, in his memorable tour through the eastern States, preached, among other places, at the college where I then was—a careless, unthinking youth. I had never seen or known of him before. But the power of God seemed to go with him wherever he went, and the first sermon that I heard him deliver made impressions on my soul that have never been effaced.' It is pleasing to remark and remember such a circumstance as this; to observe how one faithful minister of the gospel is made instrumental in raising up another, and of providing himself with an immediate and pious successor, in a place far distant from the scene of his stated ministrations. As this event also happened a considerable space before the congregation of which they both had the charge, and which was so dear to both, was organized or collected, we are led to observe how the great Head of the Church takes care for its supply and edification beyond the utmost reach of human views; and that a laborious servant of Jesus Christ may perform some of his most essential services at a time and in a manner wholly unknown to himself.

"Dr. Sproat was first ordained a minister of the gospel at Guilford, in Connecticut. During the revival of religion in this country between forty and fifty years ago, he was abundant in labours, distinguished in his zeal, highly popular, and greatly blessed. From Guilford, the call of this church brought him to this city, and gave us the advantages of his piety and fidelity in his Master's cause. Between his first congregation and his second, his life, as a minister, was almost equally divided. Nearly the exact space of twenty-five years was spent in each.

"In his natural temper he used often to tell me he was easily susceptible of passion. If it was so, it is certain, like the sage of antiquity,* *he was remarkable for his victory over it*, and for those virtues which are its opposites. Patience, moderation, indulgence, and forbearance were leading features in his general character. Meekness and affection distinguished him highly. Not only in the near relations of husband, father and master, did they render him most dear and exemplary; but in all his intercourse with the world they shone out in the mildest and most amiable light. His candour, charity and tenderness, appeared on all occasions, and gained him in a peculiar degree the respect and affection of almost all descriptions of persons. He was free from all disguise. He was 'an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile.' You saw at once the man you would always see. Such a man was peculiarly formed for lasting friendship and unreserved confidence. They could scarcely be avoided by one who was often with him. Between him and myself, therefore, they subsisted in a manner which fills me with a mournful pleasure to recollect, and the loss of which I most sensibly realize and deplore. In a collegiate charge of nearly seven years, not one cold, or distant, or formal word ever passed between us; not the slightest alienation interrupted our harmony. On all occasions he treated me like a father, and like a father I can truly say, I loved and honoured him. His usual appellation in addressing me was, *my son*; and had I been his son by the ties of nature, as well as in the bonds of the gospel, he could scarcely have treated me with more affection, or more sincerely regarded my interest as his own. These declarations are the tribute of justice, of duty, and of gratitude, which I owe to his memory. I owe it indeed a thousand times more than this—a thousand recollections of kindness fill my mind and affect my heart while I am speaking of him. I can never forget them; but I must now forbear to speak farther of them.

"In scholastic attainments he was a good proficient. Of those which are denominated the learned languages, he was a considerable master. He loved all the pursuits and interests of science; and I have heard him lament that his urgent calls to active service in early life, left him so little time to become accurate in some of the departments of literature.

"In the study of divinity he had made a progress which was truly great and enviable. It was his delight, and he pursued it incessantly. A man has seldom

* Socrates.

been seen who had a more complete knowledge, or a more familiar acquaintance with the holy Scriptures. His great readiness in quoting and applying them in a pertinent manner in his public addresses, you have all of you observed, and many of you, I trust, will remember, as the means of your spiritual edification. He had made deep researches into systematic, casuistic, and polemic divinity. On these subjects he read much in some of the last years of his life. 'My own sentiments,' said he, 'in regard to the essentials of religion, I believe are fixed; but I find much entertainment, and, I think, some advantage in reading books of this description.'

"In his discourses from the pulpit he loved to dwell on the fundamental and peculiar doctrines of the gospel, which he regarded as a system of pure grace and mercy, abasing the sinner to the dust and exalting God in the highest. When the train of his address led him to speak on the experimental part of religion, he was excellent and edifying in a singular degree. 'He shunned not to declare the whole counsel of God,' intreating, warning, and persuading souls in the most serious, plain, affectionate and pressing manner, to 'flee from the wrath to come.' His public prayers were remarkable for a vein of piety and fervour seldom equalled. He had a certain copiousness of expression and engagedness of manner in this divine service, which could arise from no other source than the familiar intercourse of his own soul with heaven.

"In his personal religion he was truly eminent. His life and example exhibited a most amiable view of the influence and efficacy of the gospel principles on the human heart and character. Unfeigned humility, that ornament of every other grace, had become a habit of his soul, and appeared in all his deportment. Having studied long and made great proficiency in the school of Christ, he had learned the hard lesson of thinking in a very lowly manner of himself. His charity for others was uncommonly extensive. It led him to hope the best where there was any probability on which hope could be founded. His faith was built on the sure foundations of the gospel, and it supported his soul in the most trying hour. In some of his last moments he said, 'all my expectations for eternity rest on the infinite grace of God, abounding through the finished righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ.' He was a pattern of patience and resignation. The painful infirmities of age, under which he laboured for a considerable time before his death, he bore with a cheerful fortitude. Since the twenty-third day of August last, he had been looking for death, and ripening for it with uncommon speed. On that day he completed half a century of years in the character of an ordained minister of the gospel; and thence forward to the time of his death, the larger portion of his waking hours were spent in the immediate acts of devotion, or of devout meditations and aspirations of soul.* He endured the severe distress which was inflicted on his family without the least repining.† At the funeral of a dear son, he might with peculiar propriety use the language, for he eminently possessed the spirit, of Job.‡

"His death was easy, and he was rational to the last. A short time before he expired, and after he had lost the power of speech, being asked if he felt the supports of religion, he answered by the signal of lifting up his hands and his eyes to heaven.

"The respect which was shown to his remains, at a time which precluded it in

* This is confirmed not only by the observation and testimony of those who were most about him, but by what appears in his own diary. This diary exhibits one of the most instructing views of the exercises and temper of a Christian, especially when under affliction, that perhaps has ever been seen.

† His eldest son, with his wife and youngest daughter, died within the space of a month. The doctor himself and Mrs. Sproat, were added to the number in less than a month afterwards.

‡ Enfeebled and trembling with age, the doctor followed the corpse of his son to the grave, and after it was deposited, leaning on his staff, he pronounced only these words: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." Amen!

almost every other instance, was a proof of the high esteem in which he was held.* It was a proof also, that there are circumstances in which acknowledged and distinguished piety, will secure that which wealth cannot purchase, nor worldly influence command. To the generous Africans who carried him to his grave, I here make a return of public thanks. Thus lived, and thus has died, the late worthy pastor of this church. His life was filled up with piety and fidelity, and the last scene of it was closed with peculiar honour and dignity. Having never sullied the profession which he made, or the character which he bore, he retired from the world like a venerable champion of the gospel of Christ. One of his brethren, considerably advanced in life himself, writing to me on the subject of his death, says, 'I sincerely mourn with you and the churches the death of your colleague. But he had lived to a good old age.† He had lived a life of usefulness and reputation, and, what was a rich blessing, he had not outlived his usefulness. O, let us double our diligence and 'work while our day lasts.'"

(G.)

The response to Dr. Miller, speaking in the name and behalf of the Trustees of the College, was as follows, viz:

RESPONSIO.

Quandoquidem, viri doctissimi et præstantissimi, vos mihi hoc munus honestum et præclarum confidistis, quid restat, nisi ut officio, sic amplissime collato, fungi obnixè conarer. Ecquidem cum operis designati magnitudinem contemplor, formido; et de mea facultate illud conficiendi dubito, sane potius despero. Recordatus, attamen, Christi oraculi, *Ἀγνή σου ἡ χάρις μου ἡ χάρις δούλου σου ἡ ἀσθενὴς ταπεινὸς, consoletur*; animus mihi additur, et ad rem propositam me alacriter accingo.

Faxit Deus optimus maximus, ut ad res secundas nostri collegii, ad prolationem finium ecclesiæ christianæ, denique ad gloriam nominis sanctissimi, factum con-ducatur.

(H.)

A Report to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, relative to a Revival of Religion among the students of said College, in the winter and spring of the year 1815. By Ashbel Green, D.D. LL.D., President of the College. Published by order of the Board of Trustees.

It has for some time been the practice of the President of the College of New Jersey to make a written report to the Board of Trustees, at each of their semi-annual meetings, on the state of the College. The following statement made a part of such a report, without any expectation, when it was drawn up, that it

* During the late distressing scenes which were witnessed in this city, the almost universal mode of conveying a corpse to the grave, was in a hearse or a cart; and the attendants consisted only of the person who drove the carriage, the grave digger, or a negro hired for the purpose, and, in a few instances, two or three mourning friends. But in the case of Dr. Sproat, there was a procession and bearers of the dead; which, as it was more striking to the beholders, in the circumstances in which it happened, than the most splendid funeral that perhaps the city ever produced, so it was a much stronger proof of the affection which was felt for the deceased, than the greatest parade in ordinary times can possibly be. The pious people who had met in the church for prayer, formed a procession of about fifty persons, and some religious negroes voluntarily offered to carry the bier.

† Dr. Sproat entered on his 72d year in April, 1793. He was born at Scituate, in the state of Massachusetts, April 11th, 1722, O. S.

would ever be made public. If it had been originally intended for publication, the form and manner of it would certainly have been somewhat different; though perhaps not more satisfactory to those who are desirous to be acquainted with a plain account of facts. A few short notes have been added, explanatory of circumstances known to the Board, but of which it appeared necessary to give some information to the public.

The report was read to the Board on the 4th day of April, A. D. 1815.

REVIVAL OF RELIGION IN THE COLLEGE.

On this subject I have thought it my duty to make a correct, though it must be a very summary, statement to the Board; both because the subject is important and interesting in itself, and because imperfect and erroneous accounts respecting it have been circulated.

For nearly a year past—that is, since the commencement of the last summer session—a very large proportion of the students have attended on all the religious exercises and instructions of the College with more than ordinary seriousness; and the minds of some of them, as now appears, were ripening, through this whole period, for what has since taken place. There was nothing more apparent, however, for six weeks after the commencement of the present session,* than an increase of this serious attention to the religious duties of College; an increase both of the degree of seriousness, and of the number of those in whom it was visible. Every religious service, both on secular days and on the Sabbath, was attended with a solemnity which was sensible and impressive. In this manner the revival commenced, or rather became apparent, in the second week of January, without any unusual occurrence in providence;—without any alarming event, without any extraordinary preaching, without any special instruction, or other means that might be supposed peculiarly adapted to interest the mind. The divine influence seemed to descend like the silent dew of heaven; and in about four weeks there were very few individuals in the College edifice who were not deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of spiritual and eternal things. There was scarcely a room—perhaps not one—which was not a place of earnest secret devotion. For a time it appeared as if the whole of our charge was pressing into the kingdom of God; so that at length the inquiry, in regard to them, was, not who was engaged about religion? but who was not?—After this state of things had continued, without much variation, for about two months, it became manifest that a change was taking place. Some were becoming confirmed in the hopes and habits of evangelical piety; some were yet serious, thoughtful and prayerful, though perhaps not in so great a degree, or at least not so apparently, as once they had been; while some were plainly losing the impressions which they had lately felt. And such has continued to be the state of this interesting concern to the time of making this report. The result is, that there are somewhat more than forty students, in regard to whom, so far as the time elapsed will permit us to judge, favourable hopes may be entertained that they have been made the subjects of renewing grace. Perhaps there are twelve or fifteen more, who still retain such promising impressions of religion as to authorize a hope that the issue, in regard to most of them, may be favourable. And nearly the whole of the remainder show a great readiness to attend on all the social exercises of religion; not only on those which are stated and customary, but those which are occasional, and the attendance on which is entirely volun-

* The winter session of the College commences six weeks after the last Wednesday of September, and continues till the first Thursday after the second Tuesday of April. The summer session commences four weeks after the last mentioned period, and continues till the last Wednesday of September, which is the day of the annual commencement.

tary. Thus, of the students who are now in the College, a majority* may be viewed as hopefully pious; and a large proportion of the residue appear to possess much tenderness of conscience, and show a very desirable regard to religious duties and obligations.

It has already been intimated that this revival of religion commenced without noise, and without any other means than those which had been a considerable time in use. But having thought it my duty to converse with my pupils, as often as they requested it, at the time when their minds were filled with anxious fears and inquiries; and also to examine them individually and carefully, since hope has, in some measure, succeeded to fear, I have had a favourable opportunity to inquire, and have attentively inquired, after the instrumental causes of this revival, as indicated by the views and feelings of the parties concerned. Four such causes appear to have had a manifest agency—

1. And chiefly, the study of the Holy Scriptures;† accompanied with comments on the portion read, and a practical application of the leading truths contained in it. God has remarkably honoured and blessed his own word. Strange as it may seem, this study of the Bible has always been a favourite one among the youth of the College, not excepting the most gay and dissipated. Pains have, indeed, been taken to render it interesting; but the degree in which it has been so, has been truly surprising. And, under the divine blessing, it has served to enlighten and instruct the youth in their duty; it has rendered their minds solemn and tender, beyond what they were themselves aware of at the time; it has given them a deep reverence for the truths of divine revelation;‡ it has qualified them to hear preaching with advantage; and at length revealed truth has, we trust, been powerfully and effectually applied to their consciences, by the Spirit by whom it was edited.

The circumstances in which the students have lately attended on public worship have been peculiarly favourable to their religious improvement. They have worshipped, in consequence of the burning of the church in this place, in the prayer hall of the College, for more than two years past. For about eighteen months they have worshipped separately from the people of the town; and have, with the theological students, who joined them partially at first and generally of late, formed an audience or congregation by themselves. This has given an opportunity, which has been carefully improved, to choose such subjects and adopt such a manner, in preaching to them, as appeared best calculated to arrest their attention. Appropriate addresses have frequently been made, and the service has, in all respects, been conducted with a special view to their advantage and religious edification. In these circumstances, they have felt an unusual interest in the solemnities of the sanctuary—they have felt that they were the parties directly and particularly concerned in these solemnities; and the good effects of this sentiment have been incalculably great, and were very apparent before the revival was visible. In a word, this mode of conducting public worship must be considered as having been a powerful instrumental cause, both in producing an awakened attention to religion at first, and in cherishing it through the whole of its progress.

* The whole number of students in the classes of the College is one hundred and five, of whom twelve were professors of religion when the revival began.

† For more than two years the Holy Scriptures had been made the subject of as regular study and examination as the classics, the mathematics, or philosophy. The afternoon of the Lord's day was appropriated uniformly to the recitation of a certain number of the students, taken promiscuously (for all were required to be prepared) on five chapters of the Bible, assigned to them the preceding week. The recitation was always accompanied with expositions, critical remarks, and a practical application. The exercise was concluded with prayer and singing, and was considered as the afternoon religious service of the College. In the morning, public worship, in the usual form, was celebrated.

‡ In the month of February 1813, a Bible Society was instituted in the College, composed of the literary and theological students indiscriminately. It has been very active in distributing Bibles gratuitously, especially to the soldiers and sailors of our country.

3. The effect of moral discipline has been manifestly favourable to this revival. This discipline, vigorously and vigilantly maintained, has preserved the youth, generally, from those practices, habits and vicious indulgences, which counteract, dissipate, and destroy all serious and religious impressions. It has had an influence in preventing that hardness of heart and insensibility of conscience, which are the natural and usual effects of unrestrained vice. It has formed a practical testimony against the moral vileness of several things which youth are apt to consider, if not as entirely innocent, yet, as evidences of manliness and spirit. After many efforts to resist these effects of discipline, by the least virtuous part of the College, the attempt was seen to be vain; and it was clearly perceived that the effects mentioned were sensibly felt, by the great mass of the students, before the revival. It was also very noticeable that the revival made its appearance with an act of discipline. A student (one of three dismissed at the same time) was almost immediately seized with a remorse of conscience and anguish of mind that were very affecting—he has since become hopefully pious. But before any thing of this was known in the College, the remarks which were made when the dismissal of the three students was announced, seemed to produce a powerful effect on a number; and during that week feelings and exercises which had, in a certain degree, long existed in secret, could no longer be concealed. Nearly at the same time, an admonition, given in private, was remarkably blessed to the individual concerned.

4. The few pious youth who were members of College before the revival, were happily instrumental in promoting it. They had, for more than a year, been earnestly engaged in prayer for this event. When they perceived the general and increasing seriousness which has been noticed, several of them made an agreement to speak, privately and tenderly, to their particular friends and acquaintance, on the subject of religion. And what they said was in almost every instance, not only well received, but those with whom they conversed became immediately and earnestly engaged in those exercises which, it is hoped, have issued in genuine piety. A public profession of religion, made by two of the students who had been a good while thoughtful, had also, at this time, much influence, apparently, both in producing and deepening impressions in many others.

The special means made use of to promote and cherish this revival, besides the circumstances already mentioned, were the following—A short address on the subject of religion was made, after prayers, on every Saturday evening. In preaching on the Lord's day morning, subjects were selected suited to the existing state of the College—in this particular we are deeply indebted to the theological professors, who have generally conducted the morning service. A particular reference was often made to the religious attention which had been excited among the students, in the remarks which accompanied their Bible recitations. A weekly lecture, intended for the students exclusively, was given by myself, on every Tuesday evening. A social prayer meeting was held, on every Friday evening, at which one of the theological professors commonly made an address. A family prayer meeting (as the students called it) was, every evening, held among themselves, at which a large proportion of the whole College attended. Smaller and more select associations for prayer were also formed. The individuals whose minds were anxious and labouring, were, as often as they requested it, carefully conversed and prayed with in private—in this service I am to acknowledge the assistance received from the professors of the Seminary, from their pupils, and from the pious students of the College. Finally, writings of approved character, on doctrinal and practical religion, were pointed out and recommended to the perusal of the students; and a short system of questions and counsel, was drawn up by myself, for the use of those who began to cherish the hope that they had entered on a life of practical piety.

Having thus mentioned the chief instrumental causes of this revival, and the means used to cherish it, to guard it, and to direct it, I shall conclude my report on this subject with a few short remarks, offered with a view to give a correct apprehension of its nature and character.

1. It has been, so far as I am able to judge, remarkably free from extravagance

and enthusiasm. I know of nothing, in regard to this revival, that I think would be called extravagant or enthusiastic, by any one who really believes in the great doctrines of the Protestant Reformation. Particular pains were early taken to guard against the evil here contemplated; and, by the divine blessing, they have been made so successful that I am not acquainted with a single incident or occurrence, indicative of intemperate feeling or conduct, that we are called to regret.

2. There has been no sectarian spirit accompanying or mingling with this revival. There are students in the College belonging to four or five different denominations of Christians. At first, there appeared to be some apprehension in the minds of those who were not Presbyterians, lest they should be drawn into a union with this denomination, if they yielded to the sentiments and feelings which began to be prevalent. But I told them, in the first address that I made to them on a Tuesday evening, that it was my fixed purpose to inculcate no doctrine or tenet that was not found in all the public orthodox creeds of Protestant Christendom—that I was indeed earnestly desirous that they should all become real practical Christians, but that I had no wish to make a single proselyte. This, I believe, removed every apprehension—and the intimation then given has been sacredly regarded. Not a single thing has been said by myself, nor, I am persuaded, by the theological professors who have preached to them, that has had any intentional tendency toward proselytism. On the contrary every thing has been general. The great catholic doctrines of the gospel have been exclusively inculcated. It is believed that there is not an individual of the College who would, if questioned, complain that he has, in any instance, felt himself pressed with opinions which interfered with his educational creed.

3. There has been no neglect of study. A report was circulated that study was laid aside in the College to attend to religion. Nothing could be more false. Study has probably never been pursued with more diligence and success. Our pupils were informed that if, at any particular recitation, an individual should find that his mind had been so exercised as not to permit him to get his lesson, he should, on application to his teacher, be specially excused; and this indulgence has been frequently asked and granted. But not a single recitation of a class has been omitted; and every individual lesson or recitation, incidentally omitted, has been strictly required to be made up for the quarterly and semi-annual examinations. It was early and earnestly inculcated on the youth of the College, that not only did Christian duty require as regular an attention as possible to all the lawful concerns of life, but that their minds would act more vigorously and more correctly on religious subjects, and in religious duties, if a suitable portion of their time should be diligently employed in their proper studies.

4. There have been no compulsory exercises. Every thing, beyond the stated religious instructions and duties of the College in ordinary times, has been perfectly voluntary; unless the short address, on Saturday evening after prayers, may be considered as a slight exception. No one has suffered either censure or reproach, who chose to be absent from any religious exercise or engagement which had its origin in this revival.

Such, gentlemen, is the statement which I have judged it proper to make to you, in regard to a work which, in its salutary efficiency, has been all of God; and the whole praise of which is to be ascribed, most unfeignedly, to Him alone.

(I.)

As a specimen of his devotional composition, we have selected the prayer composed at the time of the national grief on account of the death of "the father of his country." This was a time when the nation, with one consent, were covered with sackcloth, and set down in the dust as sincere mourners.

"Sanctify to the American people, O Lord we beseech thee, the late mournful dispensation of thy providence, by which thou hast removed from us the man whom

thou didst raise up and most pre-eminently qualify to be our military and civil chief: the man to whom thou didst give, in such a wonderful manner, the affections and the confidence of this people, that in him they seemed to contemplate (under thee) the anchor of hope in every political storm and convulsion. O Lord! the father of his country is gone—The chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof thou hast removed. In the dust before thee, we acknowledge the sovereignty of thy righteous providence. We humble ourselves 'under the mighty hand of God.' We would not question but adore thy ways—And grant, O Lord we beseech thee, that while we commemorate the virtues, revere the memory, and mourn the loss of thy departed servant, we may also recollect, with pious and admiring gratitude, thy goodness to us in preserving him so long—may feel more sensibly our utter dependence on thee our God, may make thee more entirely our refuge, may commit our country with more fervent prayers to thy protection, and may seek by unfeigned repentance of our sins and turning effectually unto thee, to secure thy favour, in which, and in which alone, there is perfect safety."

(K.)

Having discovered among Dr. Green's papers the autograph of this proclamation, we have thought it worthy of a place in our Appendix. We embrace with peculiar pleasure an opportunity to give permanency, as well as publicity, to such a document, which is not less creditable to the Chief Magistrate who approved, than to the chaplain who wrote it. The devout reader will participate in the gratification we feel in discovering such evidence of evangelical sentiment and feeling in the President of this Republic as is exhibited in his calling the nation, not only to humble themselves before God with fasting, but to recognise the operations of "the Holy Spirit;" and his "infinite grace in the Redeemer."

"Whereas the safety and prosperity of nations ultimately and essentially depend on the protection and blessing of Almighty God, and the national acknowledgment of this truth is not only an indispensable duty which the people owe to him, but one also the natural influence of which is favourable to the promotion of that morality and piety without which social happiness cannot exist, nor the blessings of a free government be enjoyed: And whereas the United States of America are, at present, placed in a hazardous and afflictive situation by the unfriendly disposition and demands of a foreign power, producing, as their unavoidable consequences, many distressing and unfavourable circumstances of a domestic kind: It has appeared to me that the duty, at all times incumbent, of imploring the mercy and benediction of Heaven on our country, demands, at this time, a special attention from its inhabitants. I have therefore thought fit to recommend, and I do hereby recommend accordingly, that Thursday the 26th day of April next be observed, throughout the United States, as a day of solemn humiliation, fasting and prayer: That the citizens of these States, abstaining on that day from their customary worldly occupations, offer their devout addresses to the Father of mercies, agreeably to those forms or methods which they have severally adopted as the most suitable and becoming: That Christian congregations do, with the deepest humility, acknowledge before God the manifold sins and transgressions with which we are justly chargeable as individuals and as a nation; beseeching Him, at the same time, of His infinite grace in the Redeemer of the world, freely to remit all our offences, and to incline us, by his Holy Spirit, to that sincere repentance and reformation which may afford us reason to hope for His inestimable favour and heavenly benediction: That it be made the subject of particular and earnest supplication that our country may be defended and protected from all the dangers which threaten it; that our civil and religious privileges may be preserved inviolable, and perpetuated to the latest generations; that our public councils and magistrates may be specially enlightened and directed at this critical period; that the American people may be

united together in those bonds of amity and mutual confidence for which they have in times past been so highly distinguished, and by which they have obtained such invaluable advantages; that the health of the inhabitants of our land may be preserved, and their agriculture, commerce, arts and manufactures, be blessed and prospered; that the principles of genuine piety and of sound morality may influence the minds and govern the lives of every rank and description of our citizens; and, in fine, that the blessings of peace, freedom, and pure religion, may be specially extended to all the nations of the earth.

Given, &c."

(L.)

The estimate made by the religious public of the instructions given during the revival by Dr. Green, was afterwards shown in their being published by the Tract Society in the form of a tract, entitled "Questions and Counsels by Dr. Green." It is believed that the ministry have found few of that society's excellent publications more useful in seasons of revival than this discriminating and judicious tract of Dr. Green. These instructions were also published in the fourteenth volume of the London Christian Observer, the same which contained an account of the revival.

QUESTIONS AND COUNSEL FOR THE STUDENTS OF NASSAU HALL,

Who hope that a work of saving grace has been wrought upon their hearts.

QUESTIONS.

1. Have you seen yourself to be, by nature and by practice, a lost and helpless sinner? Have you not only seen the sinfulness of particular acts of transgression, but also that your heart is the seat and fountain of sin?—That in you, naturally, there is no good thing? Has a view of this led you to despair of help from yourself? To see that you must be altogether indebted to Christ for salvation, and to the gracious aid of the Holy Spirit for strength and ability rightly to perform any duty?

2. On what has your hope of acceptance with God been founded? On your reformation? on your sorrow for your sins? on your prayers? on your tears? on your good works and religious observances? Or has it been on Christ alone, as your all in all? Has Christ ever appeared very precious to you? Do you mourn that he does not appear more so? Have you sometimes felt great freedom to commit your soul to him? In doing this (if you have done it) has it been, not only to be delivered from the punishment due to your sins, but also from the power, pollution, dominion, and existence of sin in your soul?

3. As far as you know yourself, do you hate, and desire to be delivered from all sin, without any exception of a favourite lust? Do you pray much to be delivered from sin? Do you watch against it, and against temptation to it? Do you strive against it, and in some good degree get the victory over it? Have you so repented of it as to have your soul really set against it?

4. Have you counted the cost of following Christ, or of being truly religious? That it will cut you off from vain amusements, from the indulgence of your lusts, and from a sinful conformity to the world? That it may expose you to ridicule and contempt, possibly to more serious persecution? In the view of all these things, are you willing to take up the cross, and to follow Christ, whithersoever he shall lead you? Is it your solemn purpose, in reliance on his grace and aid, to cleave to him, and to his cause and people, to the end of life?

5. Do you love holiness? Do you love a holy God, and because he is holy? Do you earnestly desire to be more and more conformed to God, and to his holy law? To bear more and more the likeness of your Redeemer? Do you seek, and sometimes find, communion with your God and Saviour?

6. Are you resolved, in God's strength, to endeavour conscientiously to perform

your whole duty—to God, to your neighbour, and to yourself? Do you perform common and relative duties conscientiously, as part of the duty which you owe to God?

7. Do you make conscience of secret prayer daily? Do you sometimes not feel a backwardness to this duty? Do you at other times feel a great delight in it? Have you a set time, and place, and order of exercise, for performing this duty?

8. Do you daily read a portion of the whole Scriptures, in a devout manner? Do you love to read the Bible? Do you ever perceive a sweetness in the truths of holy Scripture? Do you find them adapted to your necessities, and see, at times, a wonderful beauty, excellence, and glory in God's word? Do you make it the man of your counsel, and endeavour to have both your heart and life conformed to its doctrines and requisitions?

9. Have you ever attempted to covenant with God? To give yourself away to him, solemnly and irrevocably, hoping for acceptance through Christ alone: and taking God, in Christ, as the covenant God, and satisfying portion of your soul?

10. Does the glory of God ever appear to you as the first, greatest, and best of all objects? Do you desire to promote the glory of God, as the chief object of life?

11. Do you feel a love to mankind—such as you did not feel before you became religious? Have you a great desire that the souls of men should be saved, by being brought to a genuine faith and trust in the Redeemer? Do you love God's people with a peculiar attachment—because they bear their Saviour's image, and because, they love and pursue the objects, and delight in the exercises, which are most pleasing and delightful to yourself? Do you, from your heart, forgive all your personal enemies, and refuse to cherish or entertain any sentiments of hatred or revenge? If you have injured any person, have you made reparation; or are you ready and willing to make it?

12. Do you feel it to be very important to adorn religion, by a holy, exemplary, amiable, and blameless walk and conversation? Do you fear to bring a reproach on the cause of Christ? Does this appear to you extremely dreadful? Are you afraid of backsliding, and of being left to return to a state of carelessness and indifference in religion?

13. Do you desire and endeavour to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Christ your Saviour, more and more? Are you willing to sit at his feet as a little child, and to submit your reason and understanding, implicitly, to his teaching; imploring his Spirit to guide you into all necessary truth, to save you from all fatal errors, to enable you to receive the truth in the love of it, and to transform you, more and more, into a likeness to himself?

COUNSEL.

1. Remember that these questions are intended to point your attention to subjects of inquiry the most important. Do not, therefore, content yourself with a careless or cursory reading of them. Read and deliberate, and examine yourself, closely, on the questions under each head; and let your heart be lifted up to God, while you are considering each particular question, in earnest desires that he may show you the very truth. You cannot ordinarily go over all these questions at one time. Divide them, therefore, and take one part at one time, and another at another. But try to go over the whole in the course of a week; and do this every week for some months. When you find yourself doubtful or deficient in any point, let it not discourage you; but note down that point in writing, and bend the attention of your mind to it, and labour and pray till you shall have made the attainment which will enable you to answer clearly. It is believed that you cannot fail to see how each question ought to be answered.

2. Remember that secret prayer, reading the word of God, watchfulness, and self-examination, are the great means of preserving comfort in religion, and of growing in grace. In proportion as you are exact and faithful in these, such, usually, will be your inward peace, and the safety of your state. Unite them all

together, and never cease to practise them while you live. Think often of the character of Enoch, and try to walk with God. Read Mason's little book on Self-knowledge: I recommend it as excellent.

3. Besides the Bible, have constantly in reading, at your leisure hours, some author of known piety and excellence. Read Owen's works, Baxter's *Saints' Rest*, Doddridge's works, Watts's works, Witherspoon's works, Newton's works, Scott's works, Venn's *Whole Duty of Man*, *The Christian Observer*, &c. &c.

4. Do not suppose that any evidence which, at present, you may think you possess, of a gracious state, will release you from the necessity of maintaining a constant vigilance in time to come; nor from repeated examinations and trials of yourself even to the end of life. Many marks and evidences of a gracious state are set down by pious writers. But they must all come to this—to ascertain what is your *prevalent* temper and character—whether, on the whole, you are increasing in sanctification or not? If you are, you may be comforted; if not, you have cause to be alarmed. It is only he that endureth to the end that shall be saved.

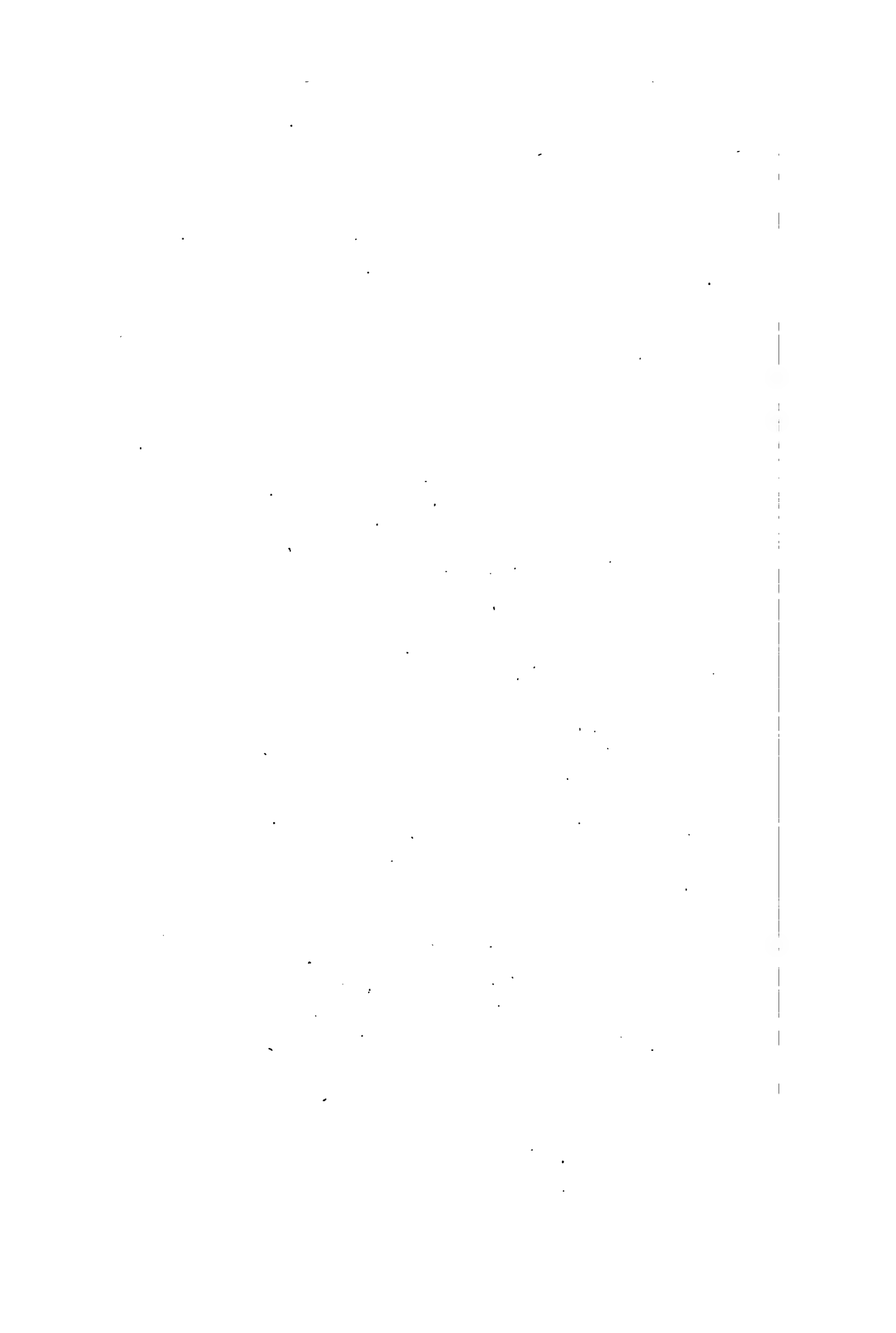
5. I think it of very great importance to warn you not to imagine that true religion is confined to the closet or to the church; even though you apprehend that you have great comfort and freedom there. Freedom and comfort there are, indeed, most desirable; but true religion reaches to every thing. It alters and sweetens the temper. It improves the manners. It goes into every duty, relation, station, and situation of life. If you have true religion, you will have a better spirit, you will be better sons, better scholars, better friends, better members of society, and more exemplary in the discharge of every duty; as the sure consequence of this invaluable possession. And if your religion does not produce these effects, although you may talk of inward comforts, and even of raptures, you have great reason to fear that the whole is a delusion, and that the root of the matter is not in you. "Herein (said the Saviour,) is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples."

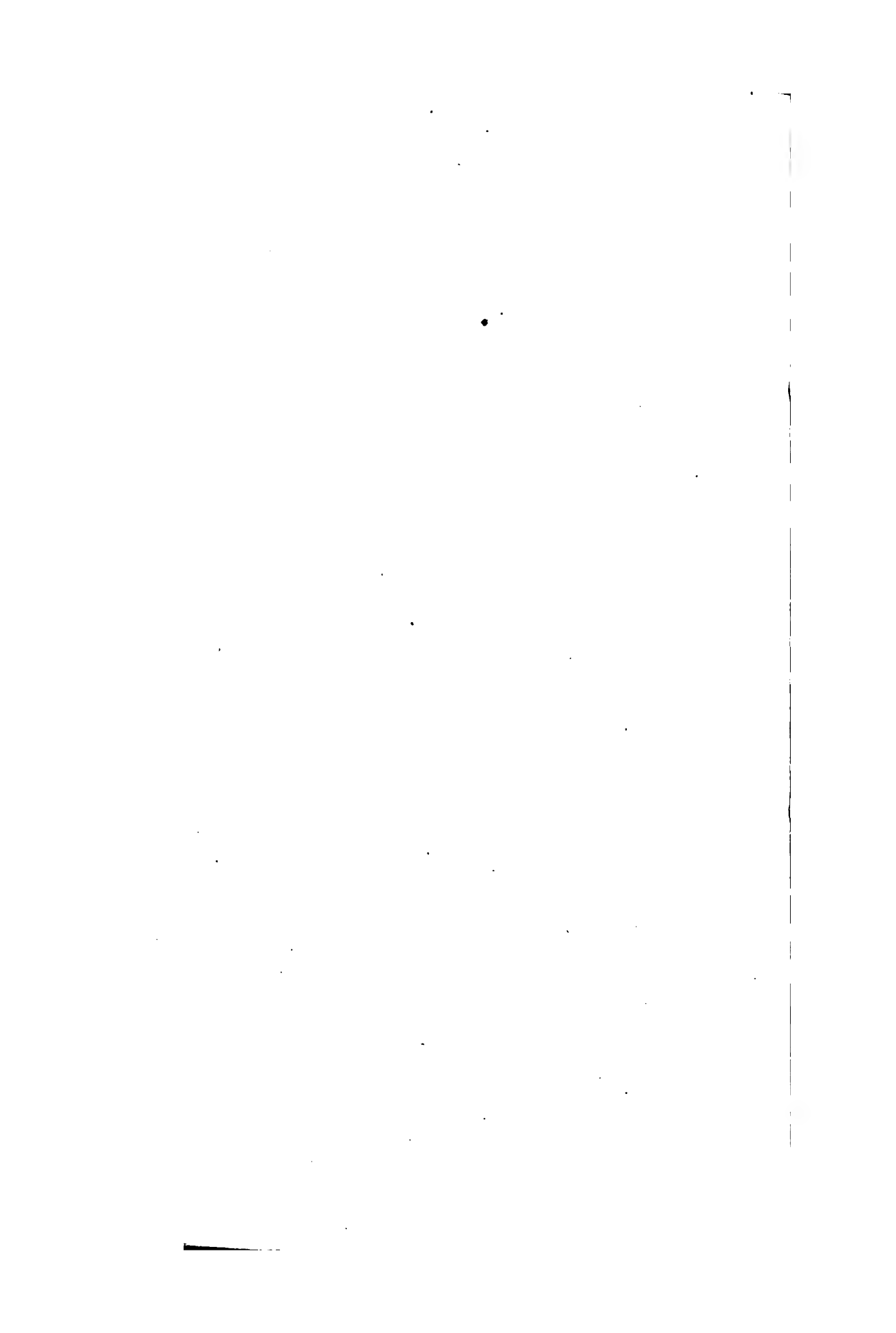
6. Be careful to avoid a gloomy, and to cherish a cheerful temper. Be habitually cheerful; but avoid levity. Mirth and laughter are not always sinful; but let your indulgence in them be clearly innocent, not very frequent, and never of long continuance. Be very humble. Be not talkative. Before experienced Christians be a hearer, rather than a talker. Try, in every way, however, to promote religion among your relatives and friends. Win them to it, by your amiable temper and exemplary deportment. "Flee youthful lusts." Shun every excitement of them. Guard against dissipation: it extinguishes piety. Be not disconcerted by ridicule and reproach. Your Saviour bore much of these for you. Think of this, and be ashamed of nothing so much as being ashamed of him. Trust in his protection, live to his praise, and you will spend an eternity in his blissful presence.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

1. A Sermon preached at the funeral of the Rev. George Duffield, D.D., late Pastor of the Third Congregation in the city of Philadelphia, who died February 2, 1790.
2. The Address and Petition of a number of the Clergy of various denominations in the city of Philadelphia to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania, relative to the passing of a law against Vice and Immorality, to which are subjoined some considerations in favour of said Petition, so far as it relates to the prohibition of Theatrical Exhibitions. 1793.
3. Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. James Sproat, D.D., delivered November 17th, 1793.
4. Obedience to the Laws of God, the sure and indispensable defence of nations. A Discourse delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, May 9th, 1798; being the day appointed by the President of the United States to be observed as a season for solemn humiliation, fasting and prayer.
5. Address of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey to the Inhabitants of the United States. 1802.
6. Discourse at the opening for Public Worship of the Presbyterian Church in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, April 7th, 1805.
7. Report of a Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Exhibiting the plan of a Theological Seminary. 1810.
8. The Life and Death of the Righteous: an Address delivered December 4th, 1810, at the funeral of the Rev. Dr. William M. Tennent, late Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Abington, near Philadelphia. 1811.
9. Advice and Exhortation, addressed to the People of the Second Presbyterian Congregation in Philadelphia, on resigning the pastoral charge of that congregation. 1812.
10. A Report to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, relative to a Revival of Religion among the Students of said College in the winter and spring of the year 1815.
11. Doing good in Imitation of Christ. A Discourse delivered in the College of New Jersey the Sabbath preceding the annual commencement, September 23, 1822.
12. Christ Crucified, the characteristic of Apostolic Preaching. A Sermon delivered in the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia at the opening of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, May 19th, 1825.

13. *The Christian Duty of Christian Women. A Discourse delivered in the Church of Princeton, New Jersey, August 23d, 1825, before the Princeton Female Society for the support of a Female School in India.*
14. *Sermon, (National Preacher, No. 39,) delivered at the opening of the Synod of Philadelphia, October 25th, 1826.*
15. *Address at the Interment of Robert Ralston, Esq., August 13th, 1836.*
16. *Sermon at the Whitefield Chapel. 1836.*
17. *History of Presbyterian Missions. 1 vol.*
18. *Discourses in the College of New Jersey, together with a History of the College. 1832.*
19. *Lectures on the Shorter Catechism. 2 vols. 12mo.*
20. *Not a small proportion of the contents of the twelve volumes of the Christian Advocate.*





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